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RECORDS OF THE PAST:

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OF THE

ASSYRIAN AND EGYPTIAN MONUMENTS.

PUBLISHED UNDER THE SANCTION

OF

THE SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

VOL. III.

ASSYRIAN TEXTS.



LONDON:

SAMUEL BAGSTER AND SONS,

15, PATERNOSTER ROW.

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RECORDS OF THE PAST.

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N O T E .

Every Text here given is either now translated for the *first time*, or has been specially revised by the Translator to the date of this publication.

P R E F A C E.

THE third volume of the "Records of the Past" contains a continuation of Translations of Assyrian Texts, and some of the principal historical and other documents found in the Cuneiform inscriptions. Their importance to historical, biblical, and philological studies, has been already pointed out, and the monuments which appear in the present, are not of less interest than those in the first volume. The great mass of literature already exhumed, the attention directed to it by more scholars, the interest awakened in the study, and the learning displayed in the elucidation of Assyrian and Babylonian Cuneiform, promise the most valuable contributions to the knowledge of these oldest of races of mankind. There still remains, should even the present materials be exhausted, a mine of literary treasure in the mounds of Mesopotamia, which sooner or later must be brought to light, and help to solve some of the problems which the monuments hitherto found have presented to different inquirers. The data are by degrees arranging themselves in their respective places, and their value is more justly appreciated. Indispensable to a due

knowledge of the history of Western Asia, they are hardly less so for the unexpected information they afford to the proper comprehension of the events in Palestine which preceded the fall of the Jewish kingdoms, the conquest of Egypt and Cyprus, and the unexpected and important part which the Assyrians played in the history of the world. The materials of this volume, like the preceding, have been prepared by different Assyriologists with great care, and those which have appeared elsewhere have been carefully revised and corrected or retranslated for the present volume. They will be found to be of interest to the students of chronology, history, and comparative mythology.

S. BIRCH.

December, 1874.

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EARLY HISTORY OF BABYLONIA.

BY GEORGE SMITH.

THIS account of the Early History of Babylonia is taken from the lecture delivered before the Society of Biblical Archæology on the 6th of June 1871. *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, Vol. i., p. 1. Since that date there have been several new discoveries but these have not yet been published in the Society's volumes and therefore are not included here. As the bulk of this paper consists of translations from early Babylonian documents it is as well to notice that there is considerable difficulty in reading some of the proper names, and since my paper was written I have



proposed to read the name of the moon-god in some cases "Agu" instead of "Sin," which will alter those proper names in which this name occurs.



NOTE.—For the convenience of readers, I have generally placed (*g*) before the names of deities, (*c*) before the names of cities, and [] to include restorations.



EARLY HISTORY OF BABYLONIA.

WHEN the light of monumental history first dawns upon Babylonia we find that country inhabited by two races, the Sumir and Akkad; they spoke two different languages, one Turanian the other Semitic, but we have no information as to which race spoke either language, and we do not know their geographical distribution in the country, but probably they were mixed in most parts, as many of the cities have both Turanian and Semitic names. The name of the Sumir was written Kame or Ke-en-gi in Turanian, and Su-mi-ri in Semitic, and the Akkad were called Urdu in Turanian, and Ak-ka-di in Semitic. The Turanian people, who appear to have been the original inhabitants of the country, invented the cuneiform mode of writing; all the earliest inscriptions are in that language, but the proper names of most of the kings and principal persons are written in Semitic, in direct contrast to the body of the inscriptions. The Semites appear to have conquered the Turanians, although they had not yet imposed their language on the country. Babylonia at this time contained many great cities, some of the principal being Nipur, written Mul-kit-ki in Turanian, and Nipur in Semitic; this city was probably the earliest seat of empire, and long continued the centre of the Babylonian religion. Eridu or Ridu, written Nun-ki in Turanian, and Eridu and Ridu in Semitic; Ur, written Urlab-ki in Turanian, and Ur in Semitic; Karrak, written Nisinna in Turanian, and Karrak in Semitic; Uruk (Erech) written Lab-ki in Turanian, and Uruk and Arka in Semitic; Larsa, written Ud-lab-ki in Turanian, and Larsa in Semitic; Sippara, written Ud-kip-nun-ki in Turanian, and Sippar and

Sipar in Semitic ; Zergulla, and Agadi which I have recently discovered to be the city of Akkad, the third capital of Nimrod.

Berosus, a Chaldean priest in the third century B.C., wrote a history of Chaldea, from which the following fragments of chronology have been preserved ; they may be compared with the monumental notices :—

Chronological Scheme of Berosus.

10 kings before the Flood, commencing with	}	432,000 years.
Al-urus - - - - -		
86 kings after the Flood, to the Median	}	3,4080 or 3,3091 years.
Conquest - - - - -		
8 Median kings - - - - -		224 or 190 years
11 other kings - - - - -		duration unknown.
49 Chaldean kings - - - - -		458 years.
9 Arabian kings - - - - -		245 years.
45 kings - - - - -		526 years.

After whom came Pul and Sennacherib.

A similar system of chronology was probably believed in during the later historic period. Sargon, king of Babylon, B.C. 710-705, says,¹ "350 ancient kings before me the dominion of Assyria ruled and governed the dominion of BEL (Babylonia)"; and in another place, "From the days remote the time of (g) Ur to the Kings my fathers of Assyria and Karduniyas (Babylonia)." The god Ur here spoken of is evidently the first mythical king of Berosus, Al-urus. Assurbanipal king of Assyria, B.C. 668-626, states,² that Babylonia was conquered by an Elamite named Kudur-nanhundi, 1635 before his own capture of Shushan, or about B.C. 2280. This conquest by Kudur-nanhundi I have conjectured to be the same as the Median conquest of Berosus, but Kudurnanhundi has left no monuments, unless he be the same as the Kudur-mabug who built at Ur.

¹ C.I., Vol. I, p. 36.

² "History of Assurbanipal," p. 250.

No approximate date can be fixed for any Babylonian monarch before Kara-indas, who reigned about B.C. 1475, and the period of the rulers whom we know to have preceded him must be acknowledged to be at present quite uncertain.

The annals of the early monarchs of Babylonia are for the most part lost, but there are sufficient remains of their works to show that their dominion was a most important one. All the great temples of Babylonia were founded by the kings who preceded the conquest by Hammurabi the king of the Kassî, and the date of this conquest cannot be placed later than the 16th century B.C. Bricks and stone tablets, with inscriptions of these early Babylonian monarchs, have been found at most of the sites, and the vast size of their works shows their great power. The civilization of this early period is proved by the works on Geography, Astrology, Mythology, Grammar, Mathematics, etc., parts of which inscribed on clay tablets are now in the British Museum.

The civil administration and laws of the country are partly shown by a number of sale, loan and law tablets belonging to the close of the period in question (about the time of Hammurabi); and the state of the fine arts can be estimated by the thousands of beautifully engraved seals belonging to this age, now in various European Museums.

The titles of the early rulers of Babylonia were *pa-te-si*, and *sar*; *patesi* means deputy or viceroy, and is equivalent to the Semitic "*is-sak-ku*"; when combined with the name of a deity, as *Patesi (g) Assur* "*viceroy of the god Assur*," it may denote an independent ruler, but the *patesi* of towns in Babylonia were most probably governors or viceroys of the kings; I will here give their inscriptions first, for convenience.

The monumental kings of Babylonia divide themselves naturally into three groups,—1st, the Chaldean or native kings before the conquest of the Kassî; 2nd, the kings of the Kassî dynasty; and 3rd, the Chaldean or native kings, successors of the Kassî.

The Babylonian monarchs usually took their titles from their capital cities, and probably formed in some cases contemporary lines of kings, the country being not always united under one sceptre; this fact, combined with our want of information respecting the earlier periods of Babylonian history, makes it impossible to present the list of kings in chronological order. The following arrangement of the names must, therefore, be considered as only provisional.

1 MI-(?)-SA-NANA-KALAM-MI(?).

The name of this ruler is Turanian; only one of his inscriptions is preserved. Nothing is known respecting the extent of his dominions, or the position of his capital.

INSCRIPTION ON A CONE (UNPUBLISHED).

“MI-SA-NANA-KALAMMI, viceroy of (c.) Ridu,
High Priest of *mati* . . . *num* . .
son of BE . . HUK.”

2 I-DA-DU.

This governor ruled at the same city as the former one. Eridu his capital was one of the greatest Babylonian cities. The name Idadu is Semitic.

INSCRIPTION ON BRICK (UNPUBLISHED).

“To (g.) NINRIDU, his King,
for the preservation of IDADU, Viceroy of (c.) Ridu,
the servant the delight of (g.) NINRIDU.”

3 BEL-SAMU.

Bel-samū, whose name is written in Turanian Va-anna, was ruler of Zirgulla, probably represented by the mounds of Zerghul, east of the river Hye, in Babylonia.

INSCRIPTION ON A CONE (UNPUBLISHED).

"BEL-SAMU, Viceroy of (c.) Zirgulla.

NANA (g.) his delight *ip* he built,
Bitanna of the east country he completed."

4 GU-DE-A.¹

The name of Gudea is evidently Turanian, its Semitic equivalents being *nagagu*, *hababu*, and *nabu*. Gudea was ruler at Zirgulla. There are numerous inscriptions of this governor, but most of them are of the two types translated here. The records of Gudea are found over a considerable extent of country, and on the sites of important cities.

INSCRIPTIONS OF GUDEA.

² "To (g.) NINIP the King, his King,

GUDEA Viceroy of (c.) Zirgulla, his house built."

³ "To (g.) NANA the Lady, Lady splendid (?)

His Lady, GUDEA Viceroy of (c.) Zirgulla raised."

There are two other texts of this ruler in the British Museum, one on a black stone statue, the other on a brick ; these are too mutilated to translate.

5 KU-DUR-NA-AN-HU-UN-DI.

This monarch is mentioned by Assurbanipal in the following passage,⁴

¹ The reading Gudea for the name of this governor is based on the passage C.I., Vol. 2, p. 20, line 24.

² C.I., Vol. 1, p. 5, No. XXIII, 1, on cones from *Warka* (Erech) and Babylon.

³ C.I., Vol. 1, p. 5, No. XXIII, 2, on a cone from Zerghul (Zirgulla).

⁴ "History of Assurbanipal," p. 250.

“KUDUR-NANHUNDI the Elamite who the worship
of the great gods did not (fear),
who in an evil resolve to his own force (trusted)
on the temples of Akkad his hands he had laid
and he oppressed Akkad
the days were full
for 2 ner 7 sos and 15 years under the Elamites.”

This period, 2 ner 7 sos 15 years, which elapsed from the time of Kudur-nanhundi, equals 1635 years; according to other inscriptions, at the close of this period, Assurbanipal conquered Elam and recovered an image of the goddess Nana, which had been carried away from Babylonia in this early conquest.

6 ZA-BU-U.

This ancient king of Babylonia is only known to us from the broken cylinder of Nabonidus, according to which he founded the temples of Anunit (Venus) and Samas (the Sun) at Sippara; these temples having fallen into decay, were restored by Saga-saltias; an early Babylonian monarch, and again falling into decay one was repaired by Nabonidus. The notice of Zabū is as follows:

“Then Bit-parra the house of
(g.) SAMAS of (c.) Sippara my Lord,
and Bit-ulmas the house of
(g.) ANUNIT of (c.) Sippara, (g.) ANUNIT my Lady, which
were from the time of ZABU in ancient days;
their chamber walls had fallen in.”

7 UR(?)-UKH(?).

According to the statements of the excavators, the bricks

¹ C.I., Vol. 1, p. 69, lines 27-31.

of Uruk were found in the foundations of buildings, the upper parts of which were constructed of bricks bearing inscriptions of other early Chaldean kings; the remains of his buildings even now exceed those of every other Chaldean monarch except Nebuchadnezzar, so that his reign must have been a long and important one.¹

Many of the earliest temples of Babylonia were founded by Uruk, among these we may notice the Temple of the Moon at Ur, and two other buildings at the same city, one called Bit-timgal, the other Bit-sareser; this latter was a tower, built in stages like a pyramid. Uruk having died before this building was completed, it was finished by his son Dungi; its ruins now form the most conspicuous object on the site of Ur. The wall of the city of Ur was also built by Uruk. At Larsa he founded the Temple of the Sun, and at Erech the Temple of Venus, called Bit-anna or the "House of Heaven." At Nipur, the ancient capital of Babylonia, he founded or restored the great Temple of Bel, and another to Beltis; and at Zirgulla he built a temple to Sar-ili the "king of the gods."

INSCRIPTIONS OF URUKH.

- ² "URUKH King of (c.) Ur,
who the house of (g.) UR built."
- ³ "To (g.) UR his King, URUKH King of (c.) Ur
his house built, and the wall of (c.) Ur built."
- ⁴ "To (g.) UR, the lesser light of heaven,
eldest son of (g.) BEL his king,

¹ The name of this king has been compared to the Arioch of Genesis xiv. 1, and the Orchemus of Ovid, but the reading Uruk is very doubtful.

² C.I., Vol. 1, p. 1, No. 1, 1 and 2, on bricks from Mugheir (Ur).

³ C.I., Vol. 1, p. 1, No. 1, 3, on bricks from Mugheir.

⁴ C.I., Vol. 1, p. 1, No. 1, 4, on cone from Mugheir.

- URUKH the powerful man, King of (c.) Ur,
 Bit-timgal the house of his delight built."
- ¹ "To (g.) UR, eldest son of BEL his King,
 URUKH the powerful man, the fierce warrior,
 King of (c.) Ur, King of Sumir and Akkad,
 Bit-timgal the house of his delight built."
- ² "To (g.) NANA his Lady,
 URUKH the powerful man, King of (c.) Ur,
 King of Sumir and Akkad, her house built."
- ³ "To (g.) SAMAS his King,
 URUKH the powerful man, King of (c.) Ur,
 King of Sumir and Akkad, his house built."
- ⁴ "To (g.) BELAT his Lady,
 URUKH King of (c.) Ur, King of Sumir and Akkad,
 her house the of her delight built."
- ⁵ "URUKH King of (c.) Ur, King of Sumir and Akkad,
 who the house of (g.) BEL built."
- ⁶ "To URUKH, the powerful man, King of (c.) Ur,
 HASSIMIR, Viceroy of (c.) ISBAGGI(?)—BEL thy servant."
- ⁷ "To (g.) SAR-ILI his King, URUKH King of (c.) Ur, . . .
 du (in Zir)-gulla built."

8 DUN(?)—GI(?).⁸

Dungi was the son and successor of Uruk; he is known to have completed and repaired some of his father's buildings,

¹ C.I., Vol. 1, p. 1, No. 1, 5, on brick from Mugheir.

² C.I., Vol. 1, p. 1, No. 1, 6, on brick from Warka (Erech).

³ C.I., Vol. 1, p. 5, No. 1, 7, on brick from Senkerch (Larsa).

⁴ C.I., Vol. 1, p. 1, No. 1, 8, on black stone at Niffer (Nipur).

⁵ C.I., Vol. 2, p. 1, No. 1, 9, on brick from Niffer.

⁶ C.I., Vol. 1, p. 1, No. 1, 10, on signet cylinder.

⁷ On unpublished brick from Zerghul(?).

⁸ Dungi king of Ur. The name of one of the Babylonian cities, perhaps founded by him and called after him, supplies the phonetic name of this monarch; it is Dunnu-saidu, C.I., Vol. 2, p. 48, line 19.

but his monuments are not nearly so numerous. His buildings were principally at Ur and Erech.

INSCRIPTIONS OF DUNGI.

- ¹ "DUNGI, the powerful man, King of (c.) Ur,
King of Sumir and Akkad."
- ² "DUNGI, the powerful man, King of (c.) Ur,
King of Sumir and Akkad,
Bit-harris the house of his delight built."
- ³ "To (g.) NANA, Lady of Bit-anna, his Lady,
DUNGI, King of (c.) Ur, King of Sumir and Akkad,
Bit-anna its site restored, its great wall built."
- ⁴ "To (g.) NIN-MAR-KI his Lady,
DUNGI King of (c.) Ur, King of Sumir and Akkad,
Bit-gilsa the fort of her delight built."

ON A SIGNET CYLINDER.

"To (g.) SIT-TI-TA-UD-DU-A,
King of Bit-sidda of (c.) Zirgulla,
for the preservation of DUNGI the powerful man,
King of (c.) Ur, *lib nîr la gu-za-lal*, son of UR-BA-BI,
made a libation(?), 'My King . . . his will,
may his name be preserved.'"

ON A STONE WEIGHT, IN THE SHAPE OF A DUCK,⁵

"10 manehs of DUNGI."

¹ C.I., Vol. 1, p. 2, No. II, 1, on bricks from Mugheir (Ur).

² C.I., Vol. 1, p. 2, No. II, 2, on bricks from Mugheir.

³ C.I., Vol. 1, p. 2, No. II, 3, on black stone.

⁴ C.I., Vol. 1, p. 2, No. II, 4, on black stone from Tel Eed.

⁵ Much worn and doubtful.

NOTICE OF URUKH AND DUNGI IN A CYLINDER OF
NABONIDUS, B.C. 555-538.

¹ "Bit-saresir, the tower of Bitnergal which is in (c.) Ur, which URUKH the very ancient King had built and had not finished it, DUNGI his son its top finished. In the writings of URUKH, and DUNGI his son, I saw also of that tower, URUKH had built and had not finished it, DUNGI his son its top finished. By this time that tower became old."²

9 (GA)-MIL(?)-NIN-IP.

This king, the first part of whose name is lost, has not been noticed, although a fragment of one of his inscriptions from Niffer is printed in the *Cuneiform Inscriptions*,³ and is there erroneously referred to Ismidagan.

This king, and several of those that follow, ruled at a city called Nisinna or Karrak.⁴ These kings were contemporary with the rulers of Ur and Larsa; their kingdom was destroyed a short time before the reign of Hammurabi.

INSCRIPTIONS OF GAMIL(?)-NINIP ON BRICKS FROM NIFFER
(NIPUR).

"GAMIL(?)-NINIP exalted ruler of (c.) Nipur *na*
of (c.) Ur, Lord of (c.) Eridu,
beneficent Lord of (c.) Uruk King of (c.) Karrak,
King of Sumir and Akkad,
the relative(?) the delight of the eyes of (g.) *Nana*.

¹ C.I., p. 68, lines 5 to 20.

² The name of Dungi is mentioned in the name of the town mentioned in C.I., Vol. 2, p. 60, line 5, Bil-dungi-ur.

³ C.I., Vol. 1, p. 5, No. XXIV.

⁴ Perhaps the same as Apirak, the site of which is unknown.

10 IS-BI-BAR-RA.

This king is mentioned on an unpublished fragment in the British Museum: the line reads

"ISBI-BARRA, King of (c.) Karrak."

11 LI-BI-IT-ANUNIT.

The name of this king, imperfect in the Museum publication, is completed from one of the cones. Its first element *libit* is a well-known form of the Semitic root לָבַן, the second element is the name of the Babylonian Venus, the name meaning "the work of Venus," or "fashioned by Venus."

INSCRIPTION OF LIBIT NANA.

¹ "LIBIT-ANUNIT, first Ruler of (c.) Nipur,
the supreme over (c.) Ur, . . . of (c.) Eridu,
beneficent Lord of (c.) Uruk, King of (c.) Karrak,
King of Sumir and Akkad, the restorer of (g.) NANA,
who Bit-mekit restored."

12 IS-MI-DA-GAN.²

This name is Semitic, and means "Dagon heard." Sir H. Rawlinson has suggested that this Ismi-dagan was the same as the Ismi-dagan patasi of Assur, who according to the Tiglath-Pileser cylinders, reigned in the 19th century B.C. This, however, is doubtful, but it is possible they may be of about the same age.

¹ C.I., Vol. 1, p. 5, No. XVIII.

² Ismi-dagan or Gungunu. The relationship or supposed relationship between these two kings has puzzled me very much, and I am now more uncertain than ever about these inscriptions. It is difficult to suppose that the text on the bricks, which is generally considered to be Gungunu's, can really be his; and I have some doubts whether the character, which precedes the name of Ismi-dagan really means son. These bricks are, however, fast decaying, so that they can no longer be relied upon to prove a contested point.

INSCRIPTIONS OF ISMI-DAGAN.

- ¹ " ISMI-DAGAN, nourisher of (c.) Nipur,
the supreme over (c.) Ur, the light(?) of (c.) Eridu,
Lord of (c.) Uruk (the powerful King),
King of (c.) Karrak, King of Sumir and Akkad,
the relative(?) the delight of NANA."

13 GU-UN-GU-NU-U.

Gungunu was son of Ismi-dagan, but some students hold the view that he was only contemporary with a son of Ismi-dagan, who was ruler of Ur. The matter is not proved on either side, but on examination of the originals of these inscriptions, I find the published copies incorrect in one point, the supposed second title "ruler of Ur," is really "within Ur." The second inscription is very peculiar, the characters stand in relief, contrary to the Babylonian custom, and in one copy are reversed, reading from right to left instead of left to right.

INSCRIPTIONS OF GUNGUNU.

- ² " To (g.) SAMAS, the ruler *tuda* (g.) UR,
leader of Bit-nirkinugal (g.) NINGAL *ra tuda* his Kings
for the preservation of GUNGUNU the powerful man,
King of (c.) Ur, for the establishing of (g.) ANU,
for the restoring of (g.) UR for (g.) UR within (c.) Ur,
the son of ISMI-DAGAN King of Sumir and Akkad,
Bit-hiliani built, Bit-ginablungani built,
for his preservation he built."

¹ C.I., Vol. 1, p. 2, No. V. 1 and 2, from Mugheir (Ur).

² C.I., Vol. 1, p. 2, No. VI, 1, on a cone from Mugheir.

¹ "For the establishing of (g.) ANU,
for the delight of (g.) UR for (g.) UR within (c.) Ur,
the son of ISMI-DAGAN King of Sumir and Akkad."

14 ILU ZAT.

The name of this monarch is found on the cast of a signet cylinder in the British Museum. The name of his capital is lost by a fracture of the cylinder, but he is placed here provisionally on account of the similarity of his legend to those of the kings of Karrak.

INSCRIPTION OF ILU ZAT ON A SIGNET CYLINDER.

"ILU ZAT King the relative the delight of
."

15 RI-IS-VUL.

No monument of this king is known, he was the last king of Apirak.²

16 GAMIL-SIN.

This king, and many of the following ones, have their names compounded with Sin, the moon god, but while in the inscriptions this deity is always worshipped under the name Ur, whenever he enters into the composition of a Semitic name, it is under the form Bil-zu or Sin. The name of the moon god is once phonetically written in a proper name on a sale tablet in the British Museum, it reads, Si-in. The name of Gamil-sin in its phonetic form occurs as the name of a private person in the time of the monarch Samsu-iluna, the phonetic form is, Ga-mil-sin. One of

¹ C.I., Vol. I, p. 2, No. VI, 2, on bricks from Mugheir.

² See Naram-sin, No. 30.

the earliest contract tablets in the British Museum is dated in the reign of Gamil-sin.

INSCRIPTIONS OF GAMIL-SIN.

¹ "To GAMIL-SIN the powerful man,
King of (c.) Ur, King of the four regions,
AMIL-ANU the tablet writer, son of GANDU, thy servant."

ON THE SOCKET OF A GATE (UNPUBLISHED).

"To (g.) NU-GAN his noble one,
GAMIL-SIN the delight of (g.) BEL King of (c.) Nipur,
in the delight of his heart he blessed ;
the powerful King, King of (c.) Ur,
King of the four regions, his house built."

A city named after Gamil-sin is mentioned in C.I., Vol. 2, page 60, line 17.

17 ZUR(?) -SIN.

This king, the phonetic value of whose name is uncertain, from the great similarity of his legends, is probably closely connected with Gamil-sin; Zur-sin was probably deified after his death, as his name occurs in a list of gods.² Many of the inscriptions of Zur-sin have been found at a ruin called Abu-shahreïn, which appears to have been entirely built by him.

INSCRIPTIONS OF ZURSIN.

³ "ZUR-SIN, BEL the Nipurite blessed,
the leader of the house of (g.) BEL,
the powerful King, King of (c.) Ur,

¹ C.I., Vol. 1, p. 3, No. XI, from a signet cylinder.

² C.I., Vol. 3, p. 69, line 17.

³ C.I., Vol. 1, p. 3, No. XII, 1, from Abu-shahreïn and Mugheir.

King of the four regions, (g.) HEA the King
his delight the of his delight he built."

¹ "ZUR-SIN the Nipurite (g.) BEL blessed,
the leader of the house of (g.) BEL,
the powerful man, King of (c.) Ur,
King of the four regions."

² "ZUR-SIN the Nipurite (g.) BEL blessed,
the leader of the house of (g.) BEL, the powerful King,
King of (c.) Ur, King of the four regions,
ma-tu-ba ZUR-SIN the delight of (c.) Ur,
mu-bi-ki-ri ma-tu-ba who *ki-du-su-bi tu-da-ab-kur-ri-a* ³
Bit-sigabi *nikaria* of (g.) UR King of (c.) Ur,
NINGAL mother of (c.) Ur, delight of the heart
of the great god of Dur he built *tu-be-li-ni*."

18 I-BIL-SIN AND A-BIL-SIN.

The first of these forms is found on an unpublished fragment of the Chaldean work on Astrology, the passage reads "IBIL-SIN King of Ur." The second form occurs in the *Cuneiform Inscriptions*,⁴ and several private persons bearing the same name are mentioned in early inscriptions. I have conjectured that these two names belong to the same monarch, but there is little except the similarity of sound to lead to this opinion.

19 BELAT(?)—SUNAT(?).

This name, the reading of which is doubtful, represents the earliest known queen in the Euphrates valley; she is only mentioned in the inscriptions of her son Sin-gasit.

¹ C.I., Vol. 1, p. 3, No. XII. 2, from Abu-shahreïn.

² C.I., Vol. 1, p. 5, No. XIX, from Mugheir.

³ The exact rendering of the passage here transliterated is uncertain.

⁴ C.I., Vol. 3, p. 38, line 64.

20 SIN-GA-SI-IT.

Sin-gasit ruled at Uruk (Warka), he is the king called Sinsada by Sir H. Rawlinson. All his memorials have been found at his capital city, where he rebuilt the temple of Venus, which had been founded by Uruk, and constructed a palace for himself.

INSCRIPTIONS OF SIN-GASIT.

- ¹ "SIN-GASIT, son of BELAT-SUNAT
King of (c.) Uruk, builder of Bit-anna."
² "SINGASIT the powerful man, King of (c.) Uruk,
King of Amnanū, the palace of his royalty built."

ON AN UNPUBLISHED CONE FROM WARKA.

"To (g.) SAR-TUR-DA his god,
and BELAT-SUNAT his mother,
SIN-GASIT King of (c.) Uruk, King of Amnanū,
nourisher of Bit-anna, who Bit-anna built,
Bit-kirib Bit-kiba, *lib tul-la ka-ne-ne*,
he built for the prolonging of his kingdom,
he built 18 *segur* 12 manehs of *dukta*(?)
10 manehs of bronze *as-ni* the house,
silver like a mountain 1 shekel of
silver its name he called,
giving delight and pleasure(?).

21 SI-IM-TI-SI-IL-HA-AK.

This ruler is only known from the inscriptions of his son Kudur-mabuk ; his name is probably Elamite.

¹ C.I., Vol. 1, p. 3, No. VIII, 1, from Warka.

² C.I., Vol. 1, p. 3, No. VIII, 2, from Warka.

22 KU-DU-UR-MA-BU-UK.¹

Kudur-mabuk has been conjectured to have some connection with the Chedorlaomer of Genesis, and the term abda Martu has been supposed to refer to that monarch's Syrian conquests, but a careful inspection of the inscription shows that abda is an error of the lithograph copy, the original having ad-da, instead. The word adda, from its use in some of these inscriptions, appears to bear the meaning king or lord, in addition to its usual meaning father, hence the kindred forms adgar and adgi are rendered malaku in Assyrian, meaning prince or ruler. Kudur-mabuk was adda or lord of Syria and lord of Yamutbal. The word Yamutbal, which has long been a puzzle to me, I find, from a bilingual passage on K 112, to meam Elam, so that this ruler claimed dominion over the whole country from Syria to Elam. Kudur-mabuk, from the number of his inscriptions and the extent of his dominion, appears to have been an important monarch, but although the monuments of this period are inscribed with his name as lord paramount, he did not reign personally in Babylonia. The crown of that country he bestowed on his son Ardu-sin, whom he names with himself in his inscriptions, and on whom he invokes the blessings of the Babylonian deities. Besides the texts translated here, there are two other inscriptions of Kudur-mabuk, one on a bronze statue of a goddess in the Louvre, and the other on a clay cylinder in the British Museum.

¹ Kudur-mabuk lord of Elam. The inscriptions of the period of Kudur-mabuk recall to the mind the account in Genesis of Chedorlaomer, who ruled from Elam to the Mediterranean. The name of Chedorlaomer in Babylonian would be Kudur-lagamar. The early Babylonian inscriptions confirm the statements of Genesis as to the power and importance of Elam at this period.

INSCRIPTION OF KUDUR-MABUK.

¹ “To (g.) UR his King : KUDUR-MABUK Lord of Syria, son of SIMTI-SILHAK, worshipper of (g.) UR, his protector marching before him, Bit-rubmah, for his preservation and the preservation of ARDU-SIN his son, King of Larsa, they built.”

¹ C.I., Vol. 1, p. 2, No. III, from Mugheir.

(To be continued in Vol. V., December 1875.)



TABLET OF ANCIENT ACCADIAN LAWS.

TRANSLATED BY
REV. A. H. SAYCE.

THE Accadians were the inventors of the cuneiform system of writing and the earliest population of Babylonia of whom we know. They spoke an agglutinative language allied to Finnic or Tatar, and had originally come from the mountainous country to the south-west of the Caspian. The name *Accada* signifies "highlander," and the name of Accad is met with in the 10th chapter of Genesis. The laws, of which a translation is given below, go back to a very remote period; and the patriarchal character of society implied by them will be noticed, as well as the superior importance possessed by the mother, denial of whom by the son involved banishment in contrast with the milder penalty enjoined for renunciation of the father. This importance of the mother in family-life is still a distinguishing feature of the Finnic-Tatar race. The slave, it will be seen, was already placed to some extent under the protection of the state, and the first step on the road towards the amelioration of his condition had been made.

A considerable portion of the tablet which contains these laws is given in the Vol. II. pl. 10, *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*. Other fragments, since discovered, have been lithographed by M. François Lenormant in his *Choix de Textes Cunéiformes* Part I. No. 15. The original Accadian text runs down the left-hand column, an Assyrian translation being annexed on the right. The several laws are divided by lines, and come at the end of a bilingual collection of ancient documents of different kinds but chiefly relating to law. They are introduced by a list of Accadian legal terms with their Assyrian equivalents. The whole was compiled for Assur-bani-pal's Library. Mr. Fox Talbot was the first to point out the nature of the inscription; and I gave a translation of the published portions of it in the *Athenæum* for May 1869, which was supplemented by Mr. G. Smith in a later number of the same periodical. Translations of the most important part of it have been recently given by M. Oppert in the *Journal Asiatique*, 7ième série, I. and M. F. Lenormant in *La Magie chez le Chaldéens* pp. 310, 311.

The first and second columns, on the obverse of the tablet, are unfortunately too mutilated for translation. It is therefore only the two last columns, on the reverse, of which a rendering is appended.

TABLET OF ANCIENT ACCADIAN LAWS.

- 1 A certain man's¹ brother-in-law hired (workmen) and on his foundation built an enclosure. From the house (the judge) expelled him.

- 2 In every case let a married man put his child in possession of property, provided that he does make him inhabit it.

- 3 For the future (the Judge may) cause a sanctuary to be erected in a private demesne.

- 4 (A man) has full possession of his sanctuary in his own high place.

- 5 The sanctuary (a man) has raised is confirmed to the son who inherits.

- 6 *Effaced.*

- 7 His father and his mother (a man) shall not (deny).

- 8 A town (a man) has named; its foundation-stone he has not *laid*; (yet) he (can) change it.

- 9 This imperial rescript must be learnt.

- 10 Everything which a married woman encloses, she (shall) possess.

- 11 In all cases for the future (these rules shall hold good).

- 12 A decision. A son says to his father: Thou art not

¹ Literally "his brother-in-law." These legal precedents ought to have a special interest for the Englishman.

my father, (and) confirms it by (his) nail-mark (on the deed); he gives him a pledge,¹ and silver he gives him.

13 A decision. A son says to his mother: Thou art not my mother; his hair is cut off, (in) the city they exclude him from earth (and) water² and in the house imprison him.³

14 A decision. A father says to his son: Thou art not my son; in house and brick building they imprison him.

15 A decision. A mother says to her son: Thou art not my son; in house and property they imprison her.

16 A decision. A woman is unfaithful to her husband and says to him: Thou art not my husband; into the river they throw her.

17 A decision. A husband says to his wife: Thou art not my wife; half a maneh of silver he weighs out (in payment).

18 A decision. A master kills ⁴ (his) slaves,⁵ cuts them to pieces, injures their offspring,⁶ drives them from the land and makes them small;⁷ his hand every day a half-measure of corn measures out (in requital).

The writing (of this tablet is) as above, (beginning;) "every dawn, an oath." Seventh tablet (of the series which begins:) "to be with him."

(Copy) belonging to Assyria, like its old (text is) it written and engraved. The country of ASSUR-BANI-PAI. (SARDANAPALUS), the mighty King, King of Assyria.

¹ In the Assyrian version "he recognises his pledge to him."

² In the Assyrian version "they humble him."

³ In the Assyrian version "they expel him."

⁴ In the Assyrian version "saws asunder and kills."

⁵ In the Assyrian version "a slave."

⁶ In the Assyrian version "beats."

⁷ In the Assyrian version "makes ill."

SYNCHRONOUS
HISTORY OF ASSYRIA AND BABYLONIA.

TRANSLATED BY
REV. A. H. SAYCE, M.A.

THE Tablet translated below is rather a collection of brief notices relating to the occasions on which Assyria and Babylonia came into contact with one another than a synchronous history in the proper sense of the word. No dates are given, and long periods of time are passed over in silence ; but the chronological order in which the events are arranged, and the synchronisms established between various kings of the two countries furnish a valuable basis for reconstructing the framework of their history, when helped out by other inscriptions. Unlike the larger part of the library to which it belonged, this tablet

was originally composed by Assyrian scribes, as the purely Assyrian point of view from which each occurrence is regarded would show, and is posterior to the eighth century B.C. The document is unfortunately very incomplete, and the translations which follow are made from a number of fragments now in the British Museum. The principal portion of them is to be found in the *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, Vol. ii., pl. 65 ; a piece which formed the upper portion of the tablet is given in the third volume, No. 3 ; while the remaining fragments are still unpublished. The document was translated by myself in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, Vol. ii., Pt. I, and extensive quotations from it have been given by Mr. G. Smith in the *Transactions* of the same Society, Vol. i., Pt. I.

A short review of our materials for determining the early chronology of Assyria may not be out of place here. The years were counted by eponymes called *limmi*, like the arkhons at Athens ; and the fact that the inscription of Rimmon-nirari, *Records of the Past*, Vol. i., p. I, the great-grandson of Assur-yupalladh, is dated in the eponymy of Shalmanurris, proves the

antiquity of this method of marking time. We thus have a guarantee of the trustworthiness of the statement made by Sennacherib that a seal which belonged to Tiglath-Adar, the grandson of Rimmon-nirari, was carried off in war to Babylon 600 years before his own capture of that city and therefore about 1300 B.C. Still greater authority is given to the precise dates of 701 years, which according to Tiglath-Pileser I. elapsed between the foundation of the temple of Anu and Rimmon at Assur by Samas-Rimmon and his own restoration of it, and of 418 years which the Bavian inscription states was the interval between the defeat of the same Tiglath-Pileser by the Babylonians and Sennacherib's invasion of Chaldea in B.C. 692. Samas-Rimmon, however, was not king of Assyria, nor even, perhaps, a member of the Semitic race; he was merely the petty sovereign of the city of Assur, the Ellasar of Genesis, and the wide tract of country afterwards known as Assyria was still designated by the vague title of Gutium (or Goim as it appears in Gen. xiv. 1). The kingdom of Assyria, therefore, did not come into existence until after B.C. 1800, and the accurate calculation of time which enabled Tiglath-

Pileser to fix the date of his predecessor must have been of Babylonian origin. This agrees well with our finding that in the inscriptions of Assur-bani-pal Cudur-Nankhundi, sometimes transliterated Kudur-nanhundi, the Elamite is said to have "oppressed Accad" just 1635 years before his own conquest of Elam. A precise chronological record, accordingly, seems to have been kept first in Babylonia and afterwards in Assyria from a period which dates back beyond the second millenium B.C. It may be added that the early Babylonians made use also of important events like the capture of a city or the inundation of a river as chronological starting-points ; while legal documents, as might be expected, reckoned by the regnal years of the king in whose lifetime they were drawn up.



SYNCHRONOUS HISTORY OF ASSYRIA AND BABYLONIA.

Only the ends of the lines which begin the tablet have been discovered, and the first legible fragment of the inscription is as follows :—

Obverse Col. I.

- 1 CARA-INDAS,¹ King (of Gan-duniyas²),
 - 2 and ASSUR-BIL-NISI-SU, King of Assyria, a covenant
 - 3 between them with one another established ;
 - 4 and a pledge with regard to the boundaries as fixed
 - above³ to one another gave.
-

- 5 BUZUR-ASSUR, King of Assyria, and BURNA-BURYAS,
 - 6 King of Gan-duniyas, made an ordinance, and common
 - 7 boundaries as aforesaid fixed.
-

- 8 In the time of ASSUR-YUPALLADH, King of Assyria,
 - CARA-MURDAS,
 - 9 King of Gan-duniyas, son of MUPALLIDHAT-SERUA
 - 10 the daughter of ASSUR-YUPALLADH, men of the Cassi
 - 11 revolted against, and slew him. NAZI-BUGAS
 - 12 a man of low parentage to the kingdom to (be) over
 - them they raised.
-

¹ Cara-indas, Burna-buryas, and Cara-murdas belonged to the Cassi or Kossæans, an Elamite tribe which had conquered Babylonia under Kham-muragas. They seem to represent the Arabian dynasty of Berosus, and made Babylon their capital. The dynasty was finally overthrown by the Assyrian king Tiglath-Adar, son of Shalmaneser, who captured Babylon and established a line of Semitic kings there in the 14th century B.C. The transactions recorded in the present passage probably took place about 100 years previously.

² Gan-duniyas (also called Gun-duni), "the enclosure" or "fortress of Duni" was Western Chaldæa, the city of Babylon having received that name from some Cassite prince or deity.

³ Literally, "as aforesaid." This refers to a preceding passage now lost.

- 13 (BEL-NIRARI,¹ King of Assyria, to) exact satisfaction
 14 (for CARA-MURDAS) to Gan-duniyas went ;
 15 (NAZI-BUGAS, King of Gan-duniyas) he slew ;
 16 (CURI-GALZU,² son of) BURNA-BURYAS,
 17 (on the throne he seated.)

. Lacuna.

- 1 NAZI-URUDA'IS,³ King of Gan-duniyas,
 2 (at) Car-Istar-agarsal ('Tiglath-Adar) smote :
 3 (a destruction) of NAZI-URUDA'IS he made
 4 (when in) the neighbourhood of the city of Akhi-rabi-su
 he had come.
 5 These common boundaries
 6 (from) above the country of Pilaz
 7 (to) the river Tigris, (and) the city of Arman-agarsal
 8 (in the moun)tains they appointed and fixed.

- 9 King of Gan-duniyas,
 10 in the might of battle

Lacuna.

¹ He was the son of Assur-yupalladh, and according to an inscription brought back from Kalah-Sherghat by Mr. G. Smith "destroyed the army of the Cassi, and the spoil of his enemies his hand captured."

² Inscriptions of Curi-galzu have been found in Babylonia, in which he calls himself son of Burna-buryas; his, consequently, must be the name to be supplied here.

³ Mr. G. Smith (*Athenæum* June 20, 1874) believes that this was the last king of the Cassite dynasty who was overthrown by Tiglath-Adar. In that case, this fragment must be placed here, and Tiglath-Adar would be the Assyrian king whose name has to be supplied. It must be confessed, however, that such a view is not altogether free from difficulties.

COLUMN II.

1 his servants he made (them)

2 as far as the city of Kullar.¹

3 BEL-CHADREZZAR, King of Assyria, (ADAR-PILESER)

4 had slain. BEL-CHADREZZAR did RIMMON-(PAL-IDDINA²
avenge).

5 in the midst of that conflict ADAR-PILESER³ (was de-
feated, and)

6 to his country returned. His forces (RIMMON-PAL-
IDDINA collected, and)

7 to Nineveh to capture (it) went.

8 in the midst of it he fought; he turned about and (to
his country returned).

9 In the time of ZAMAMA-SUMA-IDDIN, King (of Gan-
duniyas,)

10 ASSUR-DAYAN,⁴ King of Assyria, to Gan-duniyas (went).

11 (The cities) of Zaba, Irriya, (and) Agarsal he (captured;)

12 (their spoil) in abundance to Assyria (he carried.)

. Lacuna.

¹ These lines may possibly still refer to the conquest of Tiglath-Adar.

² The name of Rimmon-pal-iddina, King of Babylonia, has been supplied here by an ingenious conjecture of Mr. G. Smith.

³ Adar-Pileser was king of Assyria, and it is plain that he was forced to retreat to Nineveh, which was captured by Rimmon-pal-iddina; a fact which the Assyrian historian describes euphemistically. It was probably upon this occasion that the seal of Tiglath-Adar was carried off to Babylon, from which it was brought back 600 years afterwards by Sennacherib. Adar-pileser was the father of Assur-dayan. Tiglath-Pileser I. says of him that "he cleared away his enemies like pea-fowl over the country, and organised the armies of Assyria."

⁴ Assur-dayan is called by Tiglath-Pileser I. "the lifter up of the precious sceptre, the pursuer of the people of Bel (the Babylonians), who had conferred the work of his hand and the gift of his fingers upon the great gods, and had attained to old age and length of years."

- 1 Thereupon to his land (ASSUR-RIS-ILIM)¹ returned.
 After him (NEBOCHADREZZAR)
 2 carried his armaments. To the passes of the border of
 (Assyria)
 3 to conquer he went. ASSUR-RIS-ILIM, King of Assyria,
 4 his chariots mustered against him to go.
 5 NEBOCHADREZZAR, when the armaments do not ad-
 vance, his baggage with fire burned ;
 6 he turned about and to his country returned.
 7 The same NEBOCHADREZZAR (with) chariots and teams
 to the defences of the border
 8 of Assyria to conquer went. ASSUR-RIS-ILIM
 9 chariots (and) teams for assistance sent forth.
 10 With him he fought ; a destruction of him he made ;
 his soldiers he smote ;
 11 his camp he plundered ; forty of his harnessed chariots
 they had brought back ;
 12 one standard that went before his host they had taken.
-
- 13 TIGLATH-PILESER,² King of Assyria, MERODACH-IDDIN-
 AKHI, King of Gan-duniyas,
 14 a second time (with) a squadron of chariots, as many
 as in the city of the
 15 lower Zab in sight of the city of Arzukhina he made,
 16 in the second year on the shore of the sea which (is)
 above Accad,³ smote.

¹ Assur-ris-ilim, the grandson of Assur-dayan and father of Tiglath-Pileser I., has been ingeniously identified by Sir H. Rawlinson with the Biblical Cushan-rish-athaim, whose name, as it stands, is certainly corrupt. Tiglath-Pileser calls him "the powerful king, conqueror of foreign lands, subduing all wickedness."

² Tiglath-Pileser I. has left a detailed account of his exploits in the cylinder inscription which was translated in 1857 by Sir H. Rawlinson, Mr. Fox Talbot, Dr. Hincks, and M. Oppert. Sennacherib states that he was carried captive to Babylon by Merodach-iddin-akhi 418 years before his own invasion of Babylonia (that is about 1110 B.C.).

³ Accad was south-eastern Chaldea, and the sea referred to the Persian Gulf.

- 17 The cities of Dur-curigalzu, Sippara of the Sun,
 18 Sippara of Anunit,¹
 19 Babylon, (and) Opis, great strongholds,
 20 together with their citadels, he captured.
 21 In those days the city of Agar'sal
 22 as far as Lubdi he devastated ;
 23 the land of the 'Sukhi'² as far as the city of Rapik to
 (its) whole extent (he conquered).

-
- 24 In the time of ASSUR-BIL-CALA,³ (King of Assyria),
 25 (and) MERODACH-SAPIC-CULLAT, King of Gan-dunias,
 26 (friendship and complete) alliance
 27 (with one another) they made.
 28 (In the time of ASSUR-BIL-)CALA, King of (Assyria),
 29 (MERODACH-SAPIC-CULLAT, King of) Gan-dunias his
 death (seized).
 30 SADUNI, the son of a nobody,
 31 (to the kingdom over) them they raised.
 32 (ASSUR-BIL-CALA), King of Assyria,
 33 (to Gan-dunias) went down ;
 34 (its spoil) to Assyria he brought.

Then follows a lacuna. The mutilated reverse begins in the middle of a reign.

¹ The two Sipparas (whence the dual Sepharvaim of Scripture) seem to have been on opposite sides of the river, like Buda-Pesth. The site is represented by the modern Sura.

² The 'Sukhi or Shuhites seem to have lived to the south of Babylonia, near the junction of the Tigris and Euphrates.

³ Assur-bil-cala was the son of Tiglath-pileser I. In a mutilated inscription he claims the conquest of the land of the West, or Palestine. A brother of his, who ascended the throne either before or after him, was Samas-Rimmon, the repairer of the Temple of the goddess of Nineveh.

COLUMN III.

- 1 Nebo-suma-iscun
 2 fought ; a destruction of him he made
 3 (The cities) of Bam-bala (and) Khudadu
 4 (and) many (other) cities
 5 (he captured, and) their spoil in abundance
 6 (to Assyria) took.
 7 NIMATI his death constrained.
 8 their daughters to one another
 they gave.
 9 (Friendship and) complete alliance with one another
 they (made).
 10 (The men of) Assyria (and) Accad with one another
 trafficked.
 11 From the mound of Bit-bari which (is) above the city
 of the Zab
 12 to the mound of BATANI and of the city Zabdani¹ a
 boundary line they fixed.
-
- 13 (In the time) of SHALMANESER,² King of (Assyria,)
 14 (and NEBO-)PAL-IDDINA, King of Gan-duniyas,
 15 friendship (and) complete alliance
 16 (with) one another they made. In the time of SHALMA-
 NESER, King (of Assyria),
 17 (NEBO-)PAL-IDDINA his death constrained ;
 18 MERODACH-SUMA-IDDIN on the throne of his father sat.
 19 MERODACH-BIL-USATE, his brother, against him revolted.
 20 (The city of Ah)daban he took ; the land of Accad
 21 (strongly) he had fortified. SHALMANESER, King of
 (Assyria,)

¹ Both Bit-bari and Zabdani were situated near the Lower Zab, the Caprus of classical geographers.

² This is the king whose inscription on the monolith found at Kurkh is translated in the present volume.

- 22 to the assistance of MERODACH-SUMA-IDDIN,
 23 King of Gan-duniyas, went.
 24 MERODACH-BIL-USATE the King he slew.
 25 The rebel (leaders) who (were) with him he smote.
 26 (In) Cuthah, Babylon,
 27 (and Borsippa sacrifices he made.)¹

Lacuna.

- 1 (In the time of MERODACH-BALADHSU-IKBI), King of
 Gan-duniyas,
 2 (SAMAS-)RIMMON,² King of Assyria,
 3 (a destruction of MERODACH-BALADHSU-)IKBI made.

The last fragment forms the concluding portion of the whole tablet :—

- 1 Men (and) spoil to his places he brought back ;
 2 a permanent bond of habitations he fixed for them.
 3 The men of Assyria (and) Gan-duniyas with one another
 (trafficked).
 4 Eighty common boundary-stones he established (as
 follows) :
 5 “ May the prince hereafter who in Accad
 6 shall establish it and the plunder of conquest (shall
 carry off)
 7 write ; and to this inscribed stone (which contains)
 8 the ordinance and to the sacred images above it which
 9 the army has inscribed may he listen, and
 10 the laws of Assyria may they protect to (future) days.

¹ This is restored from the account which the king gives of his Babylonian expedition upon the Black Obelisk.

² This is the king whose monolith inscription I have translated in the first vol. of *Records of the Past*, pp. 9-22. His expedition against Merodach-baladhsu-ikbi is described in the fourth column of the inscription.

- 11 May he who Sumir and Accad shall rule
12 interpret them to all races."

Colophon.

(Written out for the palace of ASSUR-BANI-PAL) King of
Assyria.



ANNALS OF ASSUR-NASIR-PAL.

(SOMETIMES CALLED SARDANAPALUS.)

TRANSLATED, WITH NOTES,
By REV. J. M. RODWELL, M.A.,
RECTOR OF ST. ETHELBURGA, E.C.

CONCERNING Assur-nasir-habal or Assur-nasir-pal (*i.e.*, *Assur preserves the son*) we possess fuller historical records than of any other of the Assyrian monarchs, and among these the following inscription is the most important. From it, and from the inscription upon his statue discovered by Mr. Layard¹ in the ruins of one of the Nimroud temples, we learn that he was the son of Tuklat-Adar or Tuklat-Ninip, that he reigned over a territory extending from the "Tigris to the Lebanon and that he brought the great sea and all countries from the sun-rise to the sun-set under his sway." These inscriptions are published in the *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, Vol. i, pl. 17-27, and were partially translated by Professor Oppert *Histoire des Empires de Chaldeé et d'Assyrie*, p. 73 and foll. *Extrait des Annales de philosophie chrétienne* Tom. ix, 1865.

There is considerable difficulty and a consequent divergence of opinion, as to the precise date when Assur-nasir-pal ascended the throne. But he most probably reigned from 883-858 B.C.

¹ Now in the British Museum.

It need scarcely be remarked that Assur-nasir-pal is a different person from the well known Sardana-palus of classic writers or Assur-bani-pal, the son of Esar-haddon who reigned from about B.C. 668-625.

It will be seen from the inscription that the campaigns of Assur-nasir-pal took place in the mountains of Armenia, in Commagene and the provinces of the Pontus, inhabited by the Moschi¹ and other tribes. He probably advanced into Media and a portion of Western Persia. The countries on the banks of the Euphrates submitted to his arms, and in one of his expeditions he vanquished Nabu-bal-iddin king of Babylon. Westward, he reduced the southern part of Syria, and advanced to the mountain chains of the Amanus and Lebanon, but though he penetrated as far as to Tyre and Sidon and exacted tribute from both as well as from Byblus and Aradus, he did not subdue Phœnicia. The kingdoms of Israel and Judah, under the sway of Ahab and Jehosaphat were no doubt too powerful, as is evinced by the armies which they must have maintained for their struggle with the Syrians² for Assur-nasir-pal to have ventured upon attacking them. This feat was reserved for his successors on the throne of Assyria.

The inscription was found in the ruins of the Temple at the foot of the Pyramid at Nimroud (Calach).

¹ The Mesek of Psalm cxx. 5.

² See 2 Chron. xvii. and following chapters.

ANNALS OF ASSUR-NASIR-PAL.

- 1 To NINIP¹ most powerful hero, great, chief of the gods, warrior, powerful Lord, whose onset in battle has not been opposed, eldest son,
- 2 crusher of opponents, first-born son of NUKIMMUT,² supporter of the seven,³ noble ruler, King of the gods the producers, governor, he who rolls along the mass
- 3 of heaven and earth, opener of canals, treader of the wide earth, the god who in his divinity nourishes heaven and earth, the beneficent,
- 4 the exalted, the powerful, who has not lessened the glory of his face,⁴ head of nations, bestower of sceptres, glorious, over all cities a ruler,⁵
- 5 valiant, the renown of whose sceptre is not approached, chief of wide spread influence, great among the gods, shading from the southern sun, Lord of Lords, whose hand the vault of heaven
- 6 (and) earth has controlled, a King in battle mighty⁶ who has vanquished opposition, victorious, powerful, Lord of water courses and seas,⁷

¹ Ninip was one of the great gods of the Assyrian Pantheon, often joined with Assur as one of the special deities invoked by the Assyrian kings at the opening of their inscriptions. His name is also written under the symbol used for iron (*parzil*). Thus in later times the planets were connected with special metals.

² A goddess, called also Nuha, and the mother of Nebo as well as of Ninip. Fox Talbot (*Gloss.* 158) compares *nu* (= al) *kimmūt* with the "*al-gum*" of Prov. xxx. 31, i.e., "irresistible."

³ Planets. Or, *warrior among spirits*. I mention this rendering as the suggestion of Mr. G. Smith, though I prefer that given above.

⁴ Literally "horn." Cf. Job xvi. 15.

⁵ *Tigallu*. Menant renders this sentence *La massue pour regner sur les villes*.

⁶ Cf. Ps. xxiv. 8.

⁷ Cf. Ps. xcv. 4; civ. 6; cvii. 35.

- 7 strong, not yielding, whose onset brings down the green
corn, smiting the land of the enemy, like the cutting of
reeds, the deity who changes not his purposes,
8 the light of heaven and earth, a bold leader on the
waters, destroyer of them that hate (him), a spoiler (and)
Lord of the disobedient, dividing enemies, whose name
in the speech of the gods
9 no god has ever disregarded, the gatherer of life, the
god (?) whose prayers are good, whose abode is in the city
of Calah, a great Lord, my Lord—(who am) ASSUR-NASIR-
PAL, the mighty King,
10 King of multitudes, a Prince unequalled, Lord of all
the four countries, powerful over hosts of men, the
possession of BEL and NINIP the exalted and ANU
11 and of DAKAN,¹ a servant of the great gods in the
lofty shrine for great (O NINIP) is thy heart; a worshipper
of BEL whose might upon
12 thy great deity is founded, and thou makest righteous
his life, valiant, warrior, who in the service of ASSUR his
Lord hath proceeded, and among the Kings
13 of the four regions who has not his fellow, a Prince for
admiration, not sparing opponents, mighty leader, who an
equal
14 has not, a Prince reducing to order his disobedient ones,
who has subdued whole multitudes of men, a strong
worker, treading down
15 the heads of his enemies, trampling on all foes, crushing
assemblages of rebels, who in the service of the great
gods his Lords
16 marched vigorously and the lands of all of them his
hand captured, caused the forests of all of them to fall,²
and received their tribute, taking

¹ Probably the Dagon of Scripture.

² Compare the boast in Isaiah xxxvii. 24, "I cut down the tall cedars."

- 17 securities, establishing laws over all lands, when ASSUR
the Lord who proclaims my name and augments my
Royalty
- 18 laid hold upon his invincible power for the forces of
my Lordship, for ASSUR-NASIR-PAL, glorious Prince,
worshipper of the great gods
- 19 the generous, the great, the powerful, acquirer of cities
and forests and the territory of all of them, King of
Lords, destroying the wicked, strengthening
- 20 the peaceful, not sparing opponents, a Prince of firm
will (?) one who combats oppression, Lord of all Kings,
- 21 Lord of Lords, the acknowledged, King of Kings,
seated gloriously, the renown of NINIP the warrior,
worshipper of the great gods, prolonging the benefits
(conferred by) his fathers :
- 22 a Prince who in the service of ASSUR and the Sun-god,
the gods in whom he trusted, royally marched to turbulent
lands, and Kings who had rebelled against him
- 23 he cut off like grass, all their lands to his feet he sub-
jected, restorer of the worship of the goddesses and that
of the great gods,
- 24 Chief unwavering, who for the guidance of the heads
(and) elders of his land is a steadfast guardian, the work of
whose hands and
- 25 the gift of whose finger the great gods of heaven and
earth have exalted, and his steps¹ over rulers have they
established for ever ;
- 26 their power for the preservation of my Royalty have
they exercised ; the retribution of his power, (and) the
approach of His Majesty over Princes
- 27 of the four regions they have extended : the enemies of
ASSUR in all their country, the upper and the lower I
chastised, and tribute and impost

¹ Goings. Cf. Ps. xl. 2, "He hath established my goings."

- 28 upon them I established, capturing the enemies of
 ASSUR—mighty King, King of Assyria, son of TUKLAT-
 ADAR who all his enemies
 29 has scattered; (who) in the dust threw down the
 corpses of his enemies, the grandson of BIN-NIRARI, the
 servant of the great gods,
 30 who crucified alive and routed his enemies and subdued
 them to his yoke, descendant of ASSUR-DAN-IL, who the
 fortresses
 31 established (and) the fanes made good. In those
 days by the decree¹ of the great gods to royalty power
 supremacy I rose up:
 32 I am a King, I am a Lord, I am glorious, I am great,
 I am mighty, I have arisen, I am Chief, I am a Prince, I
 am a warrior
 33 I am great and I am glorious, ASSUR-NASIR-HABAL, a
 mighty King of Assyria, proclaimer of the Moon-god,
 worshipper of ANU, exalter of YAV,² suppliant of the gods
 34 am I, servant unyielding, subduing the land of his foe-
 man, a King mighty in battle, destroyer of cities and
 forests,
 35 Chief over opponents, King of the four regions, expeller
 of his foes, prostrating all his enemies, Prince of a multi-
 tude of lands of all Kings
 36 even of all, a Prince subduing those disobedient to
 him, who is ruling all the multitudes of men. These
 aspirations to the face of the great gods
 37 have gone up; on my destiny steadfastly have they
 determined; at the wishes of my heart and the uplifting
 of my hand, ISTAR, exalted Lady,
 38 hath favoured me in my intentions, and to the conduct

¹ Mouth.

² The god Yav may be the *Yaveh* of the Moabite stone.

- of (my) battles and warfare hath applied her heart. In those days I ASSUR-NASIR-PAL, glorious Prince, worshipper of the great gods
- 39 the wishes of whose heart BEL will cause him to attain, and who has conquered all Kings who disobey him, and by his hand capturing
- 40 his enemies, who in difficult places has beaten down assemblages of rebels; when ASSUR, mighty Lord, proclaimer of my name
- 41 aggrandizer of my royalty over the Kings of the four regions, bountifully hath added his invincible power to the forces of my government,
- 42 putting me in possession of lands, and mighty forests for exploration hath he given and urgently impelled me— by the might of ASSUR my Lord,
- 43 perplexed paths, difficult mountains by the impetuosity of my hosts I traversed, and an equal there was not. In the beginning of my reign
- 44 (and) in my first campaign when the Sun-god guider of the lands threw over me his beneficent protection¹ on the throne of my dominion I firmly seated myself; a sceptre
- 45 the dread of man into my hands I took; my chariots (and) armies I collected; rugged paths, difficult mountains, which for the passage
- 46 of chariots and armies was not suited I passed, and to the land of Nairi² I went: Libie, their capital city, the cities Zurra and Abuqu
- 47 Arura Arubie, situated within the limits of the land of Aruni and Etini, fortified cities, I took, their fighting-men
- 48 in numbers I slew; their spoil, their wealth, their cattle

¹ Or, shade. This may refer to the eclipse of 13th July, 885 B.C.

² A federation of states north and north-east of Assyria at the head of the Euphrates. In Tig. iv. 7, 33 of their kings are mentioned.

- I spoiled ; their soldiers were discouraged ; they took possession of a difficult mountain, a mountain exceedingly difficult ; after them
- 49 I did not proceed, for it was a mountain ascending up like lofty points of iron, and the beautiful birds of heaven had not reached up into it : like nests
- 50 of the young birds in the midst of the mountain their defence they placed, into which none of the Kings my fathers had ever penetrated : in 3 days
- 51 successfully on one large mountain, his courage vanquished opposition : along the feet of that mountain I crept and hid : their nests, their tents,
- 52 I broke up ; 200 of their warriors with weapons I destroyed ; their spoil in abundance like the young of sheep I carried off ;
- 53 their corpses like rubbish on the mountains I heaped up ; their relics in tangled hollows of the mountains I consumed ; their cities
- 54 I overthrew, I demolished, in fire I burned : from the land of Nummi to the land of Kirruri I came down ; the tribute of Kirruri
- 55 of the territory of Zimizi, Zimira, Ulmanya, Adavas, Kargai, Harmasai, horses,¹ fish (?)
- 56 oxen, horned sheep in numbers, copper, as their tribute I received : an officer to guard boundaries ² over them I placed. While in the land of Kirruri
- 57 they detained me, the fear of ASSUR my Lord overwhelmed the lands of Gilzanai and Khubuskai ; horses, silver
- 58 gold, tin, copper, *kams* of copper as their tribute they brought to me. From the land of Kirruri I withdrew ;

¹ Lit. *animals of the East*. This looks as if the Assyrians obtained the horse from some Eastern land.

² Or, a *Viceroy*.

- 59 to a territory close by the town Khulun in Gilhi ¹-Bitani
 I passed : the cities of Khatu, Khalaru, Nistun, Irbidi,
 60 Mitkie, Arzanie, Zila, Khalue, cities of Gilhi situated in
 the environs of Uzie and Arue
 61 and Arardi powerful lands, I occupied : their soldiers
 in numbers I slew ; their spoil, their riches I carried off ;
 62 their soldiers were discouraged ; the summits projecting
 over against the city of Nistun which were menacing like
 the storms of heaven, I captured ;
 63 into which no one among the Princes my sires had ever
 penetrated ; my soldiers like birds (of prey) rushed upon
 them ;
 64 260 of their warriors by the sword I smote down ; their
 heads cut off in heaps I arranged ; the rest of them like
 birds
 65 in a nest, in the rocks of the mountains nestled ; their
 spoil, their riches from the midst of the mountains I
 brought down ; cities which were in the midst
 66 of vast forests situated I overthrew, destroyed, burned in
 fire ; the rebellious soldiers fled from before my arms ; they
 came down ; my yoke
 67 they received ; impost tribute and a Viceroy I set
 over them. BUBU son of BUBUA son of the Prefect of
 Nistun
 68 in the city of Arbela I flayed ; his skin I stretched in
 contempt upon the wall. At that time an image of my
 person I made ; a history of my supremacy
 69 upon it I wrote, and (on) a mountain of the land of
 Ikin (?) in the city of ASSUR-NASIR-PAL at the foot I
 erected (it). In my own eponym in the month of July²
 and the 24th day (probably B.C. 882).
 70 in honour of ASSUR and ISTAR the great gods my

¹ A mountainous country near the upper Tigris, possibly Kurdistan.

² The Hebrew month Ab.

- Lords, I quitted the city of Nineveh: to cities situated below Nipur and Pazate powerful countries
- 71 I proceeded; Atkun, Nithu, Pilazi, and 20 other cities in their environs I captured; many of their soldiers I slew;
- 72 their spoil, their riches I carried off; the cities I burned with fire; the rebel soldiers fled from before my arms, submitted,
- 73 and took my yoke; I left them in possession of their land. From the cities below Nipur and Pazate I withdrew; the Tigris I passed;
- 74 to the land of Commagene I approached; the tribute of Commagene and of the Moschi¹ in *kams* of copper, sheep and goats I received; while in Commagene
- 75 I was stationed, they brought me intelligence that the city Suri in Bit-Khalupe had revolted. The people of Hamath had slain their governor
- 76 AHIYABABA the son of LAMAMANA² they brought from Bit-Adini and made him their King. By help of ASSUR and YAV
- 77 the great gods who aggrandize my royalty, chariots, (and) an army, I collected: the banks of the Chaboras³ I occupied; in my passage tribute
- 78 in abundance from SALMAN-HAMAN-ILIN of the city of Sadikannai and of IL-YAV of the city of Sunai,⁴ silver, gold,
- 79 tin, *kam* of copper, vestments of wool, vestments of

¹ In the text, *Kummuhi* and *Muski*.

² Dr. Hincks was of opinion that Lamaman meant "nobody;" and that "Son of Lamaman" was a delicate way of indicating a man of low origin. *Norr. Dict.* p. 690.

³ Assyrian, *Khabur*. This may be the Chebar mentioned in the Prophet Ezekiel. Schultens however (in his *Geogr.*) mentions another Chaboras which flows into the Tigris.

⁴ In the north of Mesopotamia.

- linen I received. To Suri which is in Bit-Halupe I drew near ;
- 80 the fear of the approach of ASSUR my Lord overwhelmed them ; the great men and the multitudes of the city, for the saving of their lives, coming up after me,¹
- 81 submitted to my yoke ; some slain, some living, some tongue-less I made : AHIYABABA son of LAMAMANA
- 82 whom from Bit-Adini they had fetched, I captured ; in the valour of my heart and the steadfastness of my soldiers I besieged the city ; the soldiers, rebels all,
- 83 were taken prisoners ; the nobles to the principal palace of his land I caused to send ; his silver, his gold, his treasure, his riches, copper
- 84 (?) tin, *kams*, *tabhani*, *hariati* of copper, choice copper in abundance, alabaster and iron-stone of large size
- 85 the treasures of his harem, his daughters and the wives of the rebels with their treasures, and the gods with their treasures,
- 86 precious stones of the land of . . . , his swift chariot, his horses, the harness, his chariot-yoke, trappings for horses, coverings for men,
- 87 vestments of wool, vestments of linen, handsome altars of cedar, handsome . . . , bowls of cedar-wood,
- 88 beautiful black coverings, beautiful purple coverings, carpets, his oxen, his sheep, his abundant spoil, which like the stars of heaven could not be reckoned,
- 89 I carried off ; AZIEL as my lieutenant over them I placed ; a trophy along the length of the great gate I erected : the rebellious nobles
- 90 who had revolted against me and whose skins I had stripped off, I made into a trophy : some in the middle of the pile I left to decay ; some on the top
- 91 of the pile on stakes I impaled ; some by the side of

¹ Lit., to my back.

the pile I placed in order on stakes ; many within view of my land

92 I flayed ; their skins on the walls I arranged ; of the officers of the King's officer, rebels, the limbs I cut off ;

93 I brought AHIYABABA to Nineveh ; I flayed,¹ him and fastened his skin to the wall ; laws and edicts

94 over Lakie I established. While I was staying in Suri the tribute of the Princes of Lakie throughout the whole of them,

95 silver, gold, tin, copper, *kam* of copper, oxen, sheep, vestments of wool and linen, as tribute

96 and gift, I defined and imposed upon them. In those days, the tribute of KHAYANI of the city of Hindanai, silver,

97 gold, tin, copper, amu-stone, alabaster blocks, beautiful black (and) lustrous coverings I received as tribute from him. In those days an enlarged image

98 of my Royalty I made ; edicts and decrees upon it I wrote ; in the midst of his palace I put it up ; of stone my tablets I made ;

99 the decrees of my throne upon it I wrote ; in the great gate I fixed them, in the date of this year which takes its name from me, in honour of ASSUR my Lord and NINIP who uplifts my feet.²

100 Whereas in the times of the Kings my fathers no man of Suhi to Assyria had ever come, IL-BANI Prince of Suhi together with his soldiers

101 (and) his son, silver, gold as his tribute to Nineveh in abundance brought : in my own eponym³ at the city of Nineveh I stayed : news

¹ Compare 2 Macc. vii. 7 for a somewhat similar proceeding. The custom may also be alluded to in Mic. iii. 3.

² Compare Ps. lxxiv. 3, "Lift up thy feet," etc.

³ About 882 B.C.

- 102 they brought me that men of the land of Assyria, (and)
 HULAI the governor of their city which SHALMANESER
 King of Assyria my predecessor
- 103 to the city of Hasiluha had united, had revolted :
 Dandamusa¹ a city of my dominion marched out to
 subdue (them);
- 104 in honour of ASSUR, the Sun-god and YAV, the gods in
 whom I trust, my chariots and army I collected at the
 head of the river Zupnat, the place of an image
- 105 which TIGLATH-PILESER and TIGLATH-ADAR, Kings
 of Assyria my fathers had raised; an image of My
 Majesty I constructed and put up with theirs.
- 106 In those days I renewed the tribute of the land of
 Izala, oxen, sheep, goats: to the land of Kasyari² I
 proceeded, and to Kinabu
- 107 the fortified city of the province of Hulai. I drew
 near; with the impetuosity of my formidable attack I
 besieged and took the town; 600 of their fighting men
- 108 with (my) arms I destroyed; 3000 of their captives I
 consigned to the flames; as hostages I left not one of
 them alive; HULAI
- 109 the governor of their town I captured by (my) hand
 alive; their corpses into piles I built; their boys and
 maidens I dishonoured;
- 110 HULAI the governor of their city I flayed: his skin on
 the walls of Damdamusa I placed in contempt; the city
 I overthrew demolished, burned with fire;
- 111 the city of Mariru within their territory I took; 50
 warrior fighting men by (my) weapons I destroyed; 200
 of their captives in the flame I burned;
- 112 the soldiers of the land of Nirbi I slew in fight in the

¹ Near the modern Diarbekir, on the road to the sources of the Supnat.

² In Armenia near the sources of the Tigris.

- desert ; their spoil, their oxen, their sheep, I brought away ; Nirbu which is at the foot of mount Ukhira
- 113 I boldly took ; I then passed over to Tila their fortified city ; from Kinabu I withdrew ; to Tila I drew near ;
- 114 a strong city with three forts facing each other : the soldiers to their strong forts and numerous army trusted and would not submit ;
- 115 my yoke they would not accept ; (then,) with onset and attack I besieged the city ; their fighting men with my weapons I destroyed ; of their spoil,
- 116 their riches, oxen and sheep, I made plunder ; much booty I burned with fire ; many soldiers I captured alive ;
- 117 of some I chopped off the hands and feet ; of others the noses and ears I cut off ; of many soldiers I destroyed the eyes ;¹
- 118 one pile of bodies while yet alive, and one of heads I reared up on the heights within their town ; their heads in the midst I hoisted ; their boys

(Continued on Column II.)

¹ Thus in 2 Kings xxv. 7, we read that the Chaldees "*put out the eyes of Zedekiah.*" Samson, Judges xvi. 21, was similarly treated. And the custom may be alluded to in Num. xvi. 14. It may be well to compare the treatment of children as recorded in Joshua xi. 14 with what we read in line 118. Horrible and ferocious as was the treatment of the conquered by the Israelites they at least on that occasion were content with enslaving the children.

COLUMN II.

- 1 and their maidens I dishonoured, the city I overthrew,
razed and burned with fire,
In those days the cities of the land of Nirbi
- 2 (and) their strong fortresses, I overthrew, demolished,
burned with fire : from Nirbi I withdrew and to the city
Tuskha
- 3 I approached ; the city of Tuskha I again occupied ;
its old fort I threw down : its place I prepared, its dimensions I took ; a new castle
- 4 from its foundation to its roof I built, I completed, I reared : a palace for the residence of My Royalty with
doors of *iki* wood I made ;
- 5 a palace of brick from its foundations to its roof I made, I completed : a complete image of my person of
polished stone I made ; the history
- 6 of my surpassing nation and an account of my conquests which in the country of Nairi I had accomplished.
I wrote upon it ; in the city of Tuskha
- 7 I raised it ; on suitable stone I wrote and upon the wall I fixed it ; (then) the men of Assyria, those who from
the privation of food to various countries
- 8 and to Rurie had gone up, to Tuskha I brought back and settled there : that city to myself
- 9 I took ; the wheats and barleys of Nirbi I accumulated in it ; the populace of Nirbi who before my arms had fled,
10 returned and accepted my yoke ; of their towns, their Viceroy, their many convenient houses I took possession ;
impost and tribute, horses,
- 11 horses for the yoke, fish, oxen, sheep, goats in addition to what I had before settled, I imposed upon them ; their youths as hostages
- 12 I took. While I was staying in Tuskha, I received the

- tribute of AMMIBAAL son of ZAMANI, of ANHITI of the land of Rurie
- 13 of LABDURI son of DUBUZI of the land of Nirdun and the tribute of the land of Urumi-sa Bitani, of the Princes of the land of Nairi,
- 14 chariots, horses, horses for the yoke, tin, silver, gold, *kam* of copper, oxen, sheep, goats.
- 15 Over the land of Nairi I established a Viceroy : (but) on my return the land of Nairi, and Nirbu which is in
- 16 the land of Kasyari, revolted; nine of their cities leagued themselves with Ispilipri one of their fortified towns and to a mountain difficult of access
- 17 they trusted; but the heights of the hill I besieged and took; in the midst of the strong mountain their fighting men I slew; their corpses like rubbish on the hills
- 18 I piled up; their common people in the tangled hollows of the mountains I consumed; their spoil, their property I carried off; the heads of their soldiers
- 19 I cut off; a pile (of them) in the highest part of the city I built; their boys and maidens I dishonoured; to the environs of the city Buliyani
- 20 I passed; the banks of the river Lukia¹ I took possession of; in my passage I occupied the towns of the land of Kirhi hard by; many of their warriors
- 21 I slew; their spoil I spoiled; their cities with fire I burned: to the city of Ardupati I went. In those days the tribute
- 22 of AHIRAMU son of YAHIRU of the land of NILAAI son of BAHIANI of the land of the Hittites² and of the Princes of the land of Hanirabi, silver, gold,
- 23 tin, *kam* of copper, oxen, sheep, horses, as their tribute

¹ Probably the Lycus or upper Zab.

² The term *Hittites* is used in a large sense, as the equivalent of *Syrians* including the northern parts of Palestine.

I received ; in the eponym of ASSURIDIN¹ they brought me intelligence that

- 24 ZAB-YAV Prince of the land of Dagara had revolted. The land of Zamua throughout its whole extent he boldly seized ; near the city of Babite
- 25 they constructed a fort ; for combat and battle they marched forth : in the service of ASSUR, the great god my Lord and the great MERODACH
- 26 going before me,² by the powerful aid which the Lord ASSUR extended to my people, my servants and my soldiers I called together ; to the vicinity
- 27 of Babite I marched : the soldiers to the valour of their army trusted and gave battle : but in the mighty force of the great MERODACH going before me
- 28 I engaged in battle with them ; I effected their overthrow ; I broke them down ; 1460 of their warriors in the environs
- 29 I slew ; Uzie, Birata, and Lagalaga, their strong towns, with 100 towns within their territory I captured ;
- 30 their spoil, their youths, their oxen, and sheep I carried off ; ZAB-YAV for the preservation of his life, a rugged mountain
- 31 ascended ; 1200 of their soldiers I carried off ; from the land of Dagara I withdrew ; to the city of Bara I approached ; the city of Bara
- 32 I captured ; 320 of their soldiers by my weapons I destroyed ; their oxen, sheep, and spoil in abundance I removed ;
- 33 300 of their soldiers I took off ; on Tasritu³ 15th from the town Kalzi I withdrew, and came to the environs of Babite ;

¹ About 881 B.C.

² A Scriptural phrase of frequent occurrence.

³ Corresponding to the Jewish month Tisri, and to part of our September, called in Accadian "The Holy Altar."

- 34 from Babite I withdrew ; to the land of Nizir which they call Lúlu-Kinaba I drew near ; the city Bunasi one of their fortified cities
- 35 belonging to Musazina and 20 cities of their environs I captured ; the soldiers were discouraged ; they took possession of a mountain difficult of access ; I, ASSUR-NASIR-PAL impetuously after them
- 36 like birds swooped down ; their corpses lay thick on the hills of Nizir ; 326 of their warriors I smote down ; his horses I exacted of him,
- 37 their common people in the tangled hollows I consumed ; seven cities in Nizir, which were of their duly appointed fortresses I captured ; their soldiers
- 38 I slew ; their spoil, their riches, their oxen, their sheep I carried off ; the cities themselves I burned ; to these my tents I returned to halt ;
- 39 from those same tents I departed ; to cities of the land of Nizir whose place no one had ever seen I marched ; the city of Larbusa
- 40 the fortified city of Kirtiara and 8 cities of their territory I captured ; the soldiers lost heart and took to a steep mountain, a mountain (which) like sharp iron stakes
- 41 rose high upwards ; as for his soldiers, I ascended after them ; in the midst of the mountain I scattered their corpses ; 172 of their men I slew ; soldiers
- 42 in numbers in the hollows of the mountain I hunted down ; their spoil, their cattle, their sheep, I took away ; their cities with fire
- 43 I burned ; their heads on the high places of the mountain I lifted up ;¹ their boys and maidens I dishonoured ; to the tents aforesaid I returned to halt ;

¹ Cf. Gen. xl. 19, "Yet within three days shall Pharaoh lift up thy head from off thee."

- 44 from those same tents I withdrew ; 150 cities of the territory of Larbusai, Durlulumai, Bunisai and Barai I captured ;
 45 their fighting men I slew ; their spoil I spoiled ; the city of Hasabtal I razed (and) burned with fire ; 50 soldiers of Barai I slew in battle on the plain.
 46 In those days the Princes of the entire land of Zamua were overwhelmed by the dread of the advance of ASSUR my Lord and submitted to my yoke ; horses, silver, gold,
 47 I received ; the entire land under a Prefect I placed ; horses, silver, gold, wheat, barley, submission, I imposed upon them
 48 from the city of Tuklat-assur-azbat I withdrew ; the land of Nispi accepted my yoke ; I went down all night ; to cities of remote site in the midst of Nispi
 49 which ZAB-YAV had established as his stronghold I went, took the city of Birutu and consigned it to the flames.

¶ In the eponym of DAMIKTIYA-TUKLAT, when I was stationed at Nineveh, they brought me news ¹

- 50 that Amaka, and Arastua withheld the tribute and vassalage due to ASSUR my Lord. In honour of ASSUR mighty Lord and MERODACH the great going before me,
 51 on the first of May² I prepared for the third time an expedition against Zamua: my fighting men³ before the many chariots I did not consider: from Kalzi I withdrew; the lower Zab
 52 I passed ; to the vicinity of Babite I proceeded ; the river Radanu at the foot of the mountains of Zima, my birthplace, I approached ; oxen,
 53 sheep, goats, as the tribute of Dagara I received : near Zimaki I added my strong chariots and battering rams

¹ About 880 B.C.

² The Hebrew Sivan.

³ *I.e.*, in comparison with.

- as chief of warlike implements to my magazines ; by
night
- 54 and daybreak I went down ; the Turnat in rafts I
crossed ; to Amali the strong city of Arastu I approached ;
- 55 with vigorous assault the city I besieged and took ; 800
of their fighting men I destroyed by my weapons ; I filled
the streets of their city with their corpses ;
- 56 their many houses I burned ; many soldiers I took
alive ; their spoil in abundance I carried off ; the city
I overthrew razed and burnt with fire ; the city
Khudun
- 57 and 20 cities in its environs I took ; their soldiers I
slew ; their booty in cattle and sheep I carried off ; their
cities I overthrew razed and burned ; their boys,
- 58 their maidens I dishonoured ; the city of Kisirtu a
fortified city of Zabini with 10 neighbouring cities I took ;
their soldiers I slew ; their spoil
- 59 I carried off ; the cities of Barai and Kirtiara, Bunisai
together with the province of Khasmar I overthrew razed
and burned with fire ;
- 60 I reduced the boundaries to a heap, and then from the
cities of Arastua I withdrew : to the neighbourhood of the
territory of Laara and Bidirgi, rugged land, which for the
passage
- 61 of chariots and an army was not adapted, I passed ; to
the royal city Zamri of AMIKA of Zamua I drew near ;
AMIKA from before the mighty prowess of my formidable
attack
- 62 fled in fear and took refuge on a hill difficult of access :
I brought forth the treasures of his palace and his chariot ;
from Zamri I withdrew and passed the river Lallu and to
the mountains of Etini,
- 63 difficult ground, unfit for the passage of chariots and
armies, whither none of the Princes my sires had ever

penetrated ; I marched in pursuit of his army on the mountains of Etini :

- 64 the hill I ascended : his treasure, his riches, vessels of copper, abundance of copper, *kam* of copper, bowls of copper, pitchers of copper, the treasures of his palace and of his storehouses, -
- 65 from within the mountains I took away to my camp and made a halt : by the aid of ASSUR and the Sun-god, the gods in whom I trust, from that camp I withdrew and proceeded on my march ;
- 66 the river Edir I passed on the confines of Soua and Elaniu, powerful lands ; their soldiers I slew in numbers ; their treasure, their riches, *am*¹ of copper,
- 67 *kam* of copper, *sapli* and *namziēte* of copper, vessels of copper in abundance, *pásur* wood, gold and *ahzi*, their oxen, sheep, riches,
- 68 his abundant spoil, from below the mountains of Elani, his horses, I exacted from him : AMIKA for the saving of his life to the land of Šabue went up ;
- 69 the cities Zámru, Arazitku, Amaru, Parsindu, Eritu, Zuritu his fortified city, with 150 cities
- 70 of his territory I overthrew, razed, burned ; the boundary I reduced to a heap.

¶ While in the vicinity of Parsindi I was stationed, the warlike engines of the tribe of Kallabu

- 71 came forth against the place ; 150 of the fighting men of AMIKA I slew in the plain ; their heads I cut off and put them up on the heights of his palace ;
- 72 200 of his soldiers taken by (my) hands alive I left to rot on the wall of his palace :² from Zamri the battering-rams and my banners I made ready ;

¹ *Am* may be the name of some *weight*, or figure ; v. Norr. Assy. Dict., p. 127 and 720.

² Menant renders "j'ai fait étouffer dans le mur."

- 73 to the fortress Ata, of Arzizai, whither none of the
Kings my sires had ever penetrated I marched : the cities
of Arzizu, and Arzindu
- 74 his fortified city, with ten cities situated in their environs
in the midst of Nispi a rugged country, I captured ; their
soldiers I slew the cities I overthrew razed and burned
with fire :
- 75 to those my tents I returned. In those days I received
copper, *tabbili* of copper, *kanmate* of copper, and *sariete*
as the tribute of the land of Siparmina, such as women
- 76 collect : from the city of Zamri I withdrew ; to Lara,
(the rugged hill-country, unfitted for the passage of chariots
and armies, with instruments (axes) of iron I cut through
and
- 77 with rollers of metal I beat down) with the chariots and
troops I brought over to the city of Tiglath-assur-azbat in
the land of Lulu—the city of Arakdi they call it—I went
down ;
- 78 the Kings of Zamue, the whole of them, from before the
impetuosity of my servants and the greatness of my
power drew back and accepted my yoke ; tribute of silver,
gold, tin,
- 79 copper, *kam* of copper, vestments of wool, horses, oxen,
sheep, goats, in addition to what I had before settled, I
imposed upon them ; a Viceroy
- 80 in Kalach I created. While in the land of Zamue I
was stationed the cities Khudunai, Khartisai, Khutiskai
Kirzanai
- 81 were overwhelmed by fear of the advance of ASSUR my
Lord ; impost, tribute, silver, gold, horses, vestments of
wool, oxen, sheep, goats, they brought to me ; the rebel
soldiers
- 82 fled from before my arms ; they fled to the mountains ;
I marched after them ; within confines of the land of

Aziru they settled and got ready the city of Mizu as their strong place ;

83 the land of Aziru I overthrew and destroyed ; from Zimaki as far as the Turnat I scattered their corpses ; 500 of their fighting men I destroyed ;

84 their spoil in abundance I carried off.

¶ In those days in the land of Samua, (in which is) the city of Atlila which ZIBIR King of Kardunias had taken, devastated,

85 and reduced to a heap of ruins, I ASSUR-NASIR-PAL King of Assyria took, after laying siege to its castle a second time ; the palace as a residence for My Majesty I therein strengthened, made princely and enlarged beyond what of old was planned ;

86 the wheat and barleys of the land of Kalibi I accumulated therein ; I gave it the name of Dur-Assur.

¶ On the first of May in the eponym of SANMAPAKID¹ I collected my chariots and soldiers

87 the Tigris I crossed ; to the land of Commagene I passed on ; I inaugurated a palace in the city of Tiluli ; the tribute due from Commagene I received ; from Commagene I withdrew ;

88 I passed on to the land of the Istarat² ; in the city of Kibaki I halted ; from Kibaki I received oxen, sheep, goats, and copper ; from Kibaki I withdrew ;

89 to the city of Mattyati I drew nigh ; I took possession of the land of Yatu with the town Kapranisa ; 2800 of their fighting men I smote down with my weapons ; their spoil in abundance I carried off ;

90 the rebels who had fled from before my arms now accepted my yoke ; of their cities I left them in possession ; tribute impost and an officer³ over them I set ;

¹ About 879 B.C.

² Goddesses.

³ *Uraši*.

- 91 an image of my person I made ; collected laws I wrote upon it and in the city of Mattiyati I placed it ; from Mattiyati I withdrew ; at the city of Zazabuka
- 92 I halted ; the tribute of Calach in oxen, sheep, goats and various copper articles I received ; from Zazabuka I withdrew ;
- 93 at the city of Irzia I made a halt ; that city I burned ; but received there the tributes due from Zura in oxen sheep, goats and *kam* copper :
- 94 from Irzia I withdrew ; in the land of Kasyari I halted ; Madara (and) Anzi two cities of the territory I captured and slew their soldiers ;
- 95 their spoil I carried off ; the cities I burned with fire ; six lakes I crossed over in Kasyari, a rugged highland for the passage of chariots and an army
- 96 unsuited ; (the hills with instruments of iron I cut through (and) and with rollers of metal I beat down ;) the chariots and army I brought over. In a city of ASSUR¹ on the sandy side which is in Kasyari,
- 97 oxen, sheep, goats *kam* and *gurpisi* of copper I received ; by the land of Kasyari I proceeded ; a second time to the land of Nairi I went down ; at the city of Sigisa
- 98 I made a halt ; from Sigisa I withdrew ; to Madara the fortified city of LABDURI the son of DUBISI I drew near, a city extremely strong with four impregnable castles ;
- 99 the city I besieged ; they quailed before my mighty prowess ; I received, for the preservation of their lives, their treasures, their riches, their sons, by tale ; I imposed upon them
- 100 tribute and duties ; an officer² I appointed over

¹ Or, *Assur-sidi-huli* may be taken as the name of the town.

² *Uraši* (?).

them; the city I demolished, razed, and reduced to a heap of ruins; from Madara I withdrew; to Tuskha

- 101 I passed over; a palace in Tuskha I dedicated; the tribute of the land of Nirdun, horses, yoke-horses, fish, *kam* of copper, *gurpisi* of copper, oxen, sheep,
 102 goats, in Tuskha I received; 60 cities and strong castles below Kasyari, belonging to LABDURI son of DUBUZI I overthrew razed and converted to a heap of ruins.
 103 In the service of ASSUR my Lord from Tuskha I withdrew. The powerful chariots and battering-rams I put up in my stores; on rafts
 104 I passed the Tigris; all night I descended; to Pitura a strong town of Dirrai I drew near—a very strong city—
 105 two forts facing each other, whose castle like the summit of a mountain stood up: by the mighty hands of ASSUR my Lord and the impetuosity of my army and my formidable attack
 106 I gave them battle; on two days before sunrise like YAV the inundator I rushed upon them; destruction upon them I rained with the might¹
 107 and prowess of my warriors; like the rush of birds coming upon them, the city I captured; 800 of their soldiers by my arms I destroyed; their heads
 108 I cut off; many soldiers I captured in hand alive; their populace in the flames I burned; their spoil I carried off in abundance; a trophy of the living and of heads
 109 about his great gate I built²; 700 soldiers I there

¹ Compare a similar expression, Job xx. 23, "God shall rain (his fury) upon him while he is eating."

² Cf. 2 Kings x. 8, "*Lay ye them (the heads) in two heaps in the entering in of the gate.*"

- impaled on stakes¹; the city I overthrew, razed, and reduced to a heap of ruins all round; their boys,
 110 their maidens, I dishonoured; the city of Kukunu² facing the mountains of Matni I captured; 700 of their fighting men I smote down with my weapons;
 111 their spoil in abundance I carried off; 50 cities of Dira I occupied; their soldiers I slew; I plundered them; 50 soldiers I took alive; the cities I overthrew
 112 razed and burned; the approach of my Royalty overcame them; from Pitura I withdrew, and went down to Arbaki in Gilhi-Bitani;
 113 they quailed before the approach of my Majesty, and deserted their towns and strong places: for the saving of their lives they went up to Matni a land of strength
 114 I went after them in pursuit; 1000 of their warriors I left in the rugged hills; their corpses on a hill I piled up; with their bodies the tangled hollows
 115 of the mountains I filled; I captured 200 soldiers and cut off their hands; their spoil I carried away; their oxen, their sheep
 116 without number, I took away; Iyaya, Salaniba, strong cities of Arbaki I occupied; the soldiers I slew; their spoil I carried off
 117 250 towns surrounded with strong walls in the land of Nairi I overthrew demolished and reduced to heaps and ruins; the trees of their land I cut down; the wheat
 118 and barley in Tuskha I kept. AMMIBA'AL the son of ZAMANI had been betrayed and slain by his nobles.³ To revenge AMMIBA'AL

¹ Or, crosses.² On the upper Tigris.³ I follow Dr. Oppert in the rendering of this obscure passage. Compare with Ammiba'al the name of the father of Bathsheba, which like many other proper names is indicative of the close relations between Assyria, Phœnicia, Syria, and Judæa.

- 119 I marched ; from before the vehemence of my arms
and the greatness of my Royalty
- 120 they drew back : his swift chariots, trappings for men
and horses one hundred in number,
- 121 horses, harness, his yokes, tribute of silver and gold
with 100 talents
- 122 in tin, 100 talents in copper, 300 talents in *annui*,
100 *kam* of copper, 3000 *kappi* of copper, bowls of
copper, vessels of copper,
- 123 1000 vestments of wool, *nui* wood, *eru* wood, *zalmalli*
wood, horns, choice gold,
- 124 the treasures of his palace, 2000 oxen, 5000 sheep, his
wife, with large donations from her ; the daughters
- 125 of his chiefs with large donations from them I received.
I, ASSUR-NASIR-PAL, great King, mighty King, King of
legions, King of Assyria,
- 126 son of TUKLAT-ADAR great and mighty King, King
of legions, King of Assyria, noble warrior, in the strength
of ASSUR his Lord walked, and whose equal among the
Kings
- 127 of the four regions exists not¹; a King who from
beyond the Tigris up to Lebanon and the Great Sea
- 128 hath subjugated the land of Laki in its entirety, the
land of Zuhi with the city Ripaki : from the sources of
the Ani
- 129 (and) the Zupnat to the land bordering on Sabitan has
he held in hand : the territory of Kirrouri with Kilzani
on the other side the Lower Zab
- 130 to Tul-Bari which is beyond the country of the Zab ;
beyond the city of Tul-sa-Zabdani, Hirimu, Harute, the
land of Birate
- 131 and of Kardunias I annexed to the borders of my

¹ This frequently recurring expression refers to the four races
of Syria.

- realm and on the broad territory of Nairi I laid fresh tribute. The city of Calach I took anew ; the old mound
 132 I threw down ; to the top of the water I brought it ;
 120 hand-breadths in depth I made it good ; a temple
 to NINIP my Lord I therein founded ; when
 133 an image of NINIP himself which had not been made
 before, in the reverence of my heart for his great mighty
 godship, of mountain stone and brilliant gold I caused
 to make in its completeness ;
 134 for my great divinity in the city of Calach I accounted
 him : his festivals in the months of January and September¹ I established : Bit-kursi which was unoccupied I
 closed :
 135 an altar to NINIP my Lord I therein consecrated : a
 temple for BELTIS, SIN, and GULANU, HEA-MANNA² and
 YAV great ruler of heaven and earth I founded.

¹ *Tabita* (Heb. *Tebeth*) and *Tasritu* (Heb. *Tisri*). It should be remarked that after the captivity the names of the months were exchanged for the Chaldean, and the old Hebrew names, such as *Abib* (Exod. xiii. 4), *Zif* (1 Kings vi. 37), *Ethanim* (ib. viii. 2), *Bul* (ib. vi. 38) and the titles, *first*, *second*, *third* month, etc., were dropped.

² This name has also been read as *Nisroch-Salmon*.

COLUMN III.

- 1 On the 22nd day of the third month, May,¹ in the
eponym of DAGAN-BEL-USSUR,² I withdrew from Calach ; I
passed the Tigris at its nearer bank
- 2 and received a large tribute ; at Tabite I made a halt ;
on the 6th day of the fourth month, June,³ I withdrew
from Tabite and skirted the banks of Kharmis ;
- 3 at the town of Magarizi I made a halt ; withdrew from
it and passed along by the banks of the Chaboras and
halted at Sadikanni ;
- 4 the tribute due from Saḍikanni, silver, gold, tin, *kam* of
copper, oxen, sheep, I received and quitted the place.
- 5 at the city of Katni I made a halt ; the tribute of Sunaya
I received, and from Katni withdrew ;
- 6 at Dar-Kumlimi⁴ I halted ; withdrew from it and halted
at Bit-Halupe whose tribute
- 7 of silver, gold, tin, *kam* of copper, vestments of wool
and linen, oxen and sheep I received, and withdrew
from it ;
- 8 at the city of Zirki I made a halt ; the tribute of Zirki,
silver, gold, tin, oxen,
- 9 sheep, I received ; withdrew from Zirki ; halted at
Zupri, whose tribute
- 10 of silver, gold, tin, *kami*, oxen, sheep, I received ; with-
drew from Zupri and halted at Nagarabani,
- 11 whose tribute in silver, gold, tin, *kami*, oxen, sheep, I
received and withdrew from it ;
- 12 near Khindani, situated on the nearer banks of the
Euphrates I halted ;

¹ Sivan. ² 878 B.C. ³ Heb. *Tammuz*, Assy. *Duwazu*.

⁴ A city in Mesopotamia.

- 13 the tribute of Khindani silver, golds, tin, *kami*, oxen, sheep, I received. From Khindani
- 14 I withdrew; at the mountains over against the Euphrates¹ I halted; I withdrew from those mountains and halted at Bit-Sabáya near the town of Haridi
- 15 situate on the nearer banks of the Euphrates. From Bit-Sabáya I withdrew; at the commencement of the town of Anat²
- 16 I made a halt. Anat is situated in the midst of the Euphrates. From Anat I withdrew. The city of Zuru the fortified city of
- 17 SADUDU of the land of Zuhi I besieged: to the numerous warriors of the spacious land of the Kassi he trusted and to make war and battle to my presence advanced;
- 18 the city I besieged; two days I was engaged in fighting; I made good an entrance: (then) through fear³ of my mighty arms SADUDU and his soldiers
- 19 for the preservation of his life, into the Euphrates threw himself: I took the city; 50 *bit-hallu*⁴ and their soldiers in the service of NABU-BAL-IDIN King of Kardunias;
- 20 ZABDANU his brother with 300 of his soldiers and BEL-BAL-IDIN who marched at the head of their armies I captured, together with them
- 21 many soldiers I smote down with my weapons; silver, gold, tin, precious stone of the mountains,⁵ the treasure of his palace,
- 22 chariots, horses trained to the yoke, trappings for men and horses, the women of his palace, his spoil,

¹ Burattu. In Hebrew (Gen. ii. 14.) *Phrat*.

² Dr. Oppert renders this Anatho.

³ Lit., from the face of.

⁴ Probably military engines used in sieges.

⁵ Or, *sadi*-stone shining.

- 23 in abundance I carried off; the city I pulled down
and razed; ordinances and edicts I imposed on Zuhi;
the fear of my dominion to Kardunias reached;
- 24 the greatness of my arms overwhelmed Chaldæa;¹ on
the countries of the banks of the Euphrates my impetuous
soldiers I sent forth; an image
- 25 of my person I made; decrees and edicts upon it I
inscribed; in Zúri I put it up, I ASSUR-NASIR-PAL, a
King who has enforced his laws
- 26 (and) decrees and who to the sword hath directed his
face, to conquests and alliances hath raised his heart.
While I was stationed at Calach
- 27 they brought me news that the population of Laqai
and Khindanu of the whole land of Zukhi had revolted and
crossed the Euphrates
- 28 on the eighteenth of May² I withdrew from Calach,
passed the Tigris, took the desert to Zúri
- 29 by Bit-Halupí I approached in ships belonging to me
which I had taken at Zúri: I took my way to the sources
of the Euphrates;
- 30 the narrows of the Euphrates I descended, the cities of
Khintiel and Aziel in the land of Laqai I took; their
soldiers I slew; their spoil
- 31 I carried off; the cities I overthrew, razed, burned with
fire. In my expedition marching westward of the banks
of the Chaboras to
- 32 the city Zibate of Zuhi, cities on the other side of the
Euphrates in the land of Laqai I overthrew, devas-
tated and burned with fire; their crops I seized 460
soldiers
- 33 their fighting men by (my) weapons I destroyed; I took

¹ Kaldû. There are fragments existing in the British Museum of a treaty made between this Nabu-bal-idin king of Kardunias (Babylonia) and Shalmaneser son of Assur-nasir-pal. *v. Trans. Soc. Bib. Archæol.*, I, 77.

² The Hebrew Sivan.

- 20 alive and impaled them on stakes;¹ on ships which I had built—
- 34 in 20 ships which were drawn up on the sand at Haridi I crossed the Euphrates. The land of Zuhaya and Laqai
- 35 and the city of Khindanai² to the power of their chariots armies and hands trusted and summoned 6000 of their soldiers to engage in fight and battle.
- 36 They came to close quarters; I fought with them; I effected their overthrow; I destroyed their chariots 6500 of their warriors I smote down by my weapons; the remainder
- 37 in starvation in the desert of the Euphrates I shut up. From Haridi in Zukhi to Kipina and the cities of Khindanai²
- 38 in Laqai on the other side I occupied; their fighting men I slew; the city I overthrew razed and burned. AZIEL of Laqai
- 39 trusted to his forces and took possession of the heights of Kipina; I gave them battle; at the city of Kipina I effected his overthrow; 1000 of his warriors I slew;
- 40 his chariots I destroyed; spoil I carried off in plenty; their gods I took away; for the preservation of his life he took refuge on a rugged hill of Bizuru at the sources of the Euphrates;
- 41 for two days I descended the river in pursuit: the relics of his army with my weapons I destroyed; their hiding place by the hills on the Euphrates I broke up;
- 42 to the cities of Dumite and Azmú belonging to the son of ADINI³ I went down after him; his spoil, his oxen, his sheep,

¹ Lit., "Impaled on stakes." But Dr. Oppert and Mr. Norris generally adopt the rendering given in the text, l. 108, p. 76.

² It will be observed that this city is differently spelt in l. 27. Irregularities of this kind are very frequent, especially in the termination of proper names.

³ Ahuni. See line 61, p. 71.

43 which like the stars of heaven were without number I carried off.

¶ In those days ILA of Laqai, his swift chariots and 500 soldiers

44 to my land of Assyria I transported; Dumutu¹ and Azmu I captured, overthrew, razed and burned; in the narrows of the Euphrates I turned aside in my course and

45 I outflanked AZIEL, who fled before my mighty power to save his life. ILA, the Prince of Laqai, his army his chariots, his harness,

46 I carried off and took to my city of Assur: KHIMTIEL of Laqai I made prisoner in his own city. Through the might of ASSUR my Lord, (and) in the presence of my mighty arms and the formidable attack

47 of my powerful forces he was afraid, and I received the treasures of his palaces, silver, gold, tin, copper, *kam* of copper, vestments of wool, his abundant spoil; and tribute

48 and impost in addition to what I had previously fixed I laid upon them; in those days I slew 50 buffaloes in the neighbourhood of the nearer side of the Euphrates: eight buffaloes I caught alive;

49 I killed 20 eagles, and captured others alive: I founded two cities on the Euphrates; one on the further bank

50 of the Euphrates which I named Dur-Assur-nasir-pal; one on the nearer bank which I named Nibarti-Assur. On the 20th of May² I withdrew from Calach;

51 I crossed the Tigris; to the land of Bit-Adini I went; to their strong city of Katrabi I approached, a city exceedingly strong, like a storm rushing from heaven,³

¹ See note on p. 68, l. 42.

² The Hebrew Sivan.

³ Or, "as it were situated among the storm clouds of heaven."

- 52 the soldiers confided to their numerous troops, and would not submit and accept my yoke: in honour of ASSUR the great Lord, my Lord, and the god the great protector going before me, I besieged the city
- 53 by the warlike engines¹ on foot and strong, the city I captured; many of their soldiers I slew; 800 of their fighting men I dispersed; their spoil and property I carried off, 2400 of their warriors
- 54 I transported away and detained them at Calach; the city I overthrew razed and burnt; the fear of the approach of ASSUR my Lord over Bit-Adini I made good.
- 55 In those days the tribute of AHUNI son of ADINI of Habini, of the city of Tul-Abnai,² silver, gold, tin,³ copper, vestments of wool and linen, wood for bridges,
- 56 cedar wood, the treasures of his palace I received; their hostages I took, *rimutu*⁴ I imposed upon them.
- ¶ In the month April⁵ and on the eighth day I quitted Calach; the Tigris
- 57 I passed; to Carchemish⁶ in Syria I directed my steps; to Bit-Bakhiani I approached; the tribute due from the son⁷ of BAKHIANI, swift chariots, horses, silver,
- 58 gold, tin, copper, *kami* of copper, I received; the chariots and warlike engines of the officer of the son of BAKHIANI I added to my magazines;
- 59 I menaced the land of Anili: the tribute of HU-IMMI of Nilaya, swift war chariots, horses, silver, gold, tin,³ copper,

¹ The nature of these engines (*bilsî*) is uncertain.

² *I.e.*, stony-hill.

³ Or, lead.

⁴ Possibly *humiliation*, from the Chaldee *rama*.

⁵ Airu.

⁶ Carchemish. Cf. Jeremiah xlv. 2.

⁷ (?) tribe.

- 60 *kami* of copper, oxen, sheep, horses, I received ; the chariots and warlike instruments of the officer I added to my magazines. From Anili I withdrew ; to Bit-Adini I approached ;
- 61 the tribute of AHUNI son of ADINI, silver, gold, tin,¹ copper, wood of *ereru*, and *rabaz*, horns, *sai*-wood, horns²
- 62 of thrones horns of silver, and gold, *sari*, bracelets of gold, *sahri* fastenings for covers of gold, scabbards of gold, oxen, sheep, goats as his tribute I received ;
- 63 the chariots and warlike engines of the officer of AHUNI I added to my magazines. In those days I received the tribute of HABINI of Tul-Abnai, four maneh of silver and 400 sheep ;
- 64 ten maneh of silver for his first year as tribute I imposed upon him : from Bit-Adini I withdrew ; the Euphrates, in a difficult part of it, I crossed in ships of hardened skins :
- 65 I approached the land of Carchemish : the tribute of SANGARA King of Syria, twenty talents of silver, *sahri*, gold, bracelets of gold, scabbards of gold, 100 talents
- 66 of copper, 250 talents of annui *kami*, *hariate*, *nir-makate kibil*³ of copper, the extensive furniture of his palace,
- 67 of incomprehensible perfection⁴ different kinds of

¹ Or, lead.

² Some projecting ornament, like "horns of an altar." Cf. Ps. cxviii. 27 ; Exod. xxx. 2.

³ Probably some utensils, as explained by the Hebrew word *unutu* (*anioth*).

⁴ Or, with Mr. Norris, "the whole of it was not taken." *Dict.* p. 558.

- woods,¹ *ka* and *sara*, 200 female slaves, vestments of wool,
- 68 and linen ; beautiful black coverings, beautiful purple coverings, precious stones, horns of buffaloes, white² chariots, images of gold, their coverings, the treasures of his Royalty, I received of him ;
- 69 the chariots and warlike engines of the General of Carchemish I laid up in my magazines ; the Kings of all those lands who had come out against me received my yoke ; their hostages I received ;
- 70 they did homage in my presence ; to the land of Lebanon³ I proceeded. From Carchemish I withdrew and marched to the territory of Munzigani and Harmurga :
- 71 the land of Ahanu I reduced ; to Gaza⁴ the town of LUBARNA⁵ of the Khatti I advanced ; gold and vestments of linen I received :
- 72 crossing the river Abrie I halted and then leaving that river approached the town of Kanulua a royal city belonging to LUBARNA of the Khatti :
- 73 from before my mighty arms and my formidable onset he fled in fear, and for the saving of his life submitted to my yoke ; twenty talents of silver, one talent of gold,
- 74 100 talents in tin, 100 talents in *annui* 1000 oxen, 10,000 sheep, 1000 vestments of wool, linen, *nimati* and *ki* woods coverings,
- 75 *ahuzate* thrones, *kui* wood, wood for seats, their coverings, *sarai*, *zueri*-wood, horns of *kui* in abundance, the numerous utensils of his palace, whose beauty

¹ The words specified are *sa* or *issa*, *passur*, and probably *ebony*, the others have not been identified.

² Probably "in ivory."

³ Labnana.

⁴ Hazazi.

⁵ Prince.

76 could not be comprehended :¹ *pagatu* (?)²
from the wealth of great Lords as his tribute

77 I imposed upon him ; the chariots and warlike engines
of the land of the Khatti I laid up in my magazines ; their
hostages I took.

¶ In those days (I received) the tribute of Guzi

78 of the land of Yahanai, silver, gold, tin,³ oxen,
sheep, vestments of wool and linen I received : from
Kunalua the capital of LUBARNA I withdrew,

79 of the land of the Khatti, crossed the Orontes,⁴ and
after a halt left it, and to the borders

80 of the land of Yarak and of Yahturi I went round :
the land⁵ had rebelled : from the Sangura after
a halt I withdrew ;

81 I made a detour to the lands of Saratini and Girpani⁶
. I halted and advanced to Aribue a fortified city
belonging to LUBARNA of the land of the Khatti :

82 the city I took to myself ; the wheats and barleys of
Luhuti I collected ; I allowed his palace to be sacked
and settled Assyrians there.⁷

83 While I was stationed at Aribua, I captured the cities of
the land of Luhiti and slew many of their soldiers ; over-
threw razed and burned them with fire ;

84 the soldiers whom I took alive I impaled on stakes
close by their cities.

¶ In those days I occupied the environs of Lebanon ;
to the great sea

85 of Phœnicia⁸ I went up : up to the great sea my arms I

¹ The Inscription is here defaced.]

² May this be the Hebrew word for garments, *beqed*?

³ Defaced.

⁴ Arunte.

⁵ Defaced.

⁶ Defaced.

⁷ Precisely thus "The king of Assyria brought men from Babylon . . .
and placed them in the cities of Samaria instead of the children of Israel."
² Kings xvii. 24.

⁸ *Akhari*. Heb. אַחֲרֵי.

- carried : to the gods I sacrificed ; I took tribute of the
Princes of the environs of the sea-coast,
- 86 of the lands of Tyre, Sidon, Gebal, Maacah¹ Maizai
Kaizai, of Phœnicia and Arvad
- 87 on the sea-coast—silver, gold, tin, copper, *kam* of
copper, vestments of wool and linen, *pagutu*² great and
small,
- 88 strong timber, wood of *ki*³ teeth of dolphins, the
produce of the sea, I received as their tribute : my yoke
they accepted ; the mountains of Amanus⁴ I ascended ;
wood for bridges,
- 89 pines, box, cypress, *li*-wood, I cut down ; I offered
sacrifices for my gods ; a trophy⁵ of victory I made, and
in a central place I erected it ;
- 90 *gusuri*-wood, cedar wood from Amanus I destined
for Bit-Hira, and my pleasure house called Azmaku,
for the temple of the Moon and Sun the exalted
gods.
- 91 I proceeded to the land of Iz-mehri, and took pos-
session of it throughout : I cut down beams for
bridges of *mehri* trees, and carried them to Nineveh ;
(and)
- 92 to ISTAR Lady of Nineveh (on) my knees I knelt.⁶ In
the eponym of SAMAS-NURI⁷ in the honour of the great
Lord ASSUR my Lord on the 20th of April⁸
- 93 from Calach I withdrew—crossed the Tigris—de-
scended to the land of Kipani and there, in the city
of Huzirina, received the tribute of the governors of
its cities.

¹ Lit., *Zurai, Sidunai, Gubalai, Makullat.*

² See p. 73, note 2.

³ Ebony.

⁴ The mountain chain which divides Syria from Cilicia.

⁵ Or, proof.

⁶ Lit., sat.

⁷ I.e., "the Sun is my light."

⁸ Assy. *Airu*, Heb. *Iyar*. 866. B.C.

- 94 While stationed at Huzirana I received the tribute of
ITTIEL of Nilaya, GIRIDADI of Assaya, in silver
95 gold, oxen, sheep. In those days I received the tribute
in beams for bridges, cedar wood, silver, gold of
Qatuzili
96 of Commagene¹—withdrew from Huzirana and took my
way upwards along the banks of the Euphrates; to
Kubbu²
97 I crossed over into the midst of the towns of Assa
in Kirkhi over against Syria. The cities of Umalie and
Khiranu
98 powerful cities, centrally situated in Adani I cap-
tured; numbers of their soldiers I slew; spoil beyond
reckoning
99 I carried off; the towns I overthrew and demolished;
150 cities of their territory I burned with fire; then from
Khiranu
100 I withdrew; I passed over to the environs of the land
of Amadani; I went down among the cities of Dirrie,
and the cities within the lands of
101 Amadani and Arquanie I burned with fire: Mallanu
which is in the middle of Arquanie I took as my own
possession; I withdrew from Mallanu
102 to the cities of Zamba on the sandy outskirts, which
I burned with fire: I passed the river Sua, proceeding
up to the Tigris whose cities
103 on those banks and on these banks of the Tigris in
Arkanie to a heap I reduced: its waters overflowed
all Kirkhi: my yoke they took;
104 their hostages I exacted; a Viceroy of my own I
appointed over them: in the environs of the land of
Amadani I arrived: at Barza-Nistun

¹ Lit., Kumukhaya.

² Between Carchemish and the Orontes.

- 105 To Dandamusa the fortified city of ILANI son of
ZAMANI I drew near and laid siege to it: my warriors
like birds of prey rushed upon them ;
- 106 600 of their warriors I put to the sword and decapi-
tated ; 400 I took alive ;
- 107 3000 captives I brought forth ; I took possession of
the city for myself : the living soldiers, and heads to the
city of Amidi ¹ the royal city, I sent ;
- 108 heaps of the heads close by his great gate I piled ; the
living soldiers I crucified on crosses ² at the gates of the
town ;
- 109 inside the gates I made carnage ; their forests I cut
down ;³ from Amidi I withdrew towards the environs of
Kasyari ; the city of Allabzie
- 110 to whose rocks and stones no one among the
Kings my fathers had ever made approach, I pene-
trated ; to the town of Uda the fortress of LABDURI
son of DUBUZI
- 111 I approached and besieged the city with *bilsi*(?)
strengthened and marching ; the city I captured ;⁴
soldiers ⁵ with my weapons I destroyed ; 570
soldiers
- 112 I captured ; 3000 captives I took forth ; soldiers alive
I caught ; some I impaled on stakes ;⁶ of others
- 113 the eyes I put out : the remainder I carried off to
ASSUR and took the city as my own possession—I

¹ Diarbekr, still known by the name of Kar-Amid. Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, l. 466. The name is of frequent occurrence in early Christian writers.

² See p. 68, note 1.

³ Cf. Is. x. 34, "He shall cut down the thickets of the forest with iron ;" also Ezek. xxxix. 10.

⁴ The Inscription is here defaced.

⁵ Defaced. ⁶ See p. 68, note 1.

who am ASSUR-NASIR-PAL mighty King, King of Assyria son of TUKLAT-ADAR, (TUKLAT-NINIP)

- 114 great King, powerful King, King of legions, King of Assyria son of VUL-NIRARI¹ great King, mighty King, King of legions, King of Assyria, noble warrior, who in the service of ASSUR his Lord proceeded, and among the Kings of the four regions,
- 115 has no equal, a Prince² (giving) ordinances, not fearing opponents, mighty unrivalled leader, a Prince subduer of the disobedient, who all
- 116 the thrones of mankind has subdued ; powerful King treading over the heads of his enemies, trampling on the lands of enemies, breaking down the assemblages of the wicked ; who in the service of the great gods
- 117 his Lords marched along ; whose hand hath taken possession of all their lands, laid low the forests of all of them, and received their tributes, taking hostages (and) imposing laws
- 118 upon all those lands ; when ASSUR the Lord proclaimer of my name, aggrandizer of my Royalty, who added his unequivocal service to the forces of my government
- 119 I destroyed the armies of the spacious land of Lúluṃi. In battle by weapons I smote them down. With the help of the Sun-god
- 120 and YAV, the gods in whom I trust, I rushed upon the armies of Nairi, Kirkhi Subariya and Nirbi like YAV the inundator ;³

¹ The grand-father of Assur-nasir-pal. His reign probably terminated at 889 B.C.

² Lit. shepherd. Thus, Isa. xliv. 28, "Cyrus is my shepherd."

³ Cf. Ps. xxix. 10, "The Lord (Jhvh) sitteth upon the flood ; yea the Lord sitteth King for ever."

- 121 a King who from the other side the Tigris to the land of Lebanon and the great sea has subjugated to his yoke the entire land of Lakie and the land of Zukhi as far as the city Rapiḫ ;
- 122 to whose yoke is subjected (all) from the sources of the Zupnat to the frontiers of Bitani ; from the borders of Kirruri to Kirzani ;
- 123 from beyond the Lower Zab to the town of Tul-sa-Zabdani and the town of Tul-Bari beyond the land of Zaban as far as the towns of Tul-sa-Zabdani and
- 124 Tul-sa-Abtani ; Harimu, Harutu in Birate of Kardunias¹ to the borders of my land I added ; (the inhabitants) of the territory of Babite
- 125 with Khasmar among the people of my own country I accounted : in the countries which I held I established a deputy : they performed homage : submission
- 126 I imposed upon them ; I, ASSUR-NASIR-PAL, great, noble, worshipper of the great gods, generous, great, mighty possessors of cities and the forests of all their domains, King of Lords, consumer of
- 127 the wicked *taskaru* invincible, who combats in justice, Lord of all Kings, King of Kings, glorious, upholder of BAR (NINIP) the warlike, worshipper
- 128 of the great gods, a King who, in the service of ASSUR and NINIP, gods in whom he trusted, hath marched royally, and wavering lands and Kings his enemies in all their lands
- 129 to his yoke hath subdued, and the rebels against ASSUR, high and low, hath opposed and imposed on them impost and tribute—ASSUR-NASIR-PAL

¹ This reads like an annexation of a *portion* of Babylonian territory.

- 130 mighty King, glory of the Moon-god,¹ worshipper of ANU, related² to YAV, suppliant of the gods, an unyielding servant, destroyer of the land of his foes ; I, a King vehement in war,
- 131 destroyer of forests and cities, chief over opponents, Lord of four regions, router of his enemies in strong lands and forests, and who Kings mighty and fearless from the rising
- 132 to the setting of the sun to my yoke subjugated.
 ¶ The former city of Calach which SHALMANESER King of Assyria going before me, had built—
- 133 that city was decayed and reduced to a heap of ruins : that city I built anew ; the people captured by my hand of the countries which I had subdued, Zukhi and Lakie,
- 134 throughout their entirety, the town of Sirku on the other side of the Euphrates, all Zamua, Bit-Adini, the Khatti, and the subjects of Liburna I collected within, I made them occupy.³
- 135 A water-course from the Upper Zab I dug and called it Pati-kanik : timber upon its shores I erected : a choice of animals to ASSUR my Lord and (for) the Chiefs of my realm I sacrificed ;
- 136 the ancient mound I threw down : to the level of the water I brought it : 120 courses on the low level I caused it to go : its wall I built ; from the ground to the summit I built (and) completed.

[Additional clauses are found on the monolith inscription in the British Museum. They are not, however, of any

¹ Or, upholder, proclaimer of SIN, the moon ; cf. l. 127.

² Assy. *Nalad*. Cf. the Heb. נָלַד (?) born of.

³ Precisely thus were the Israelites carried away to Babylon.

great importance and amount to little more than directions for the preservation and reparation of the palace, with imprecations upon those who should at any time injure the buildings. On this same monolith is found an invocation to the great gods of the Assyrian Pantheon : namely, to Assur, Anu, Hea, Sin (the Moon), Merodach, Yav Jahve, Jah (?), Ninip, Nebo, Beltis, Nergal, Bel-Dagon, Samas (the Sun), Istar.]



MONOLITH
INSCRIPTION OF SHALMANESER.
FOUND AT KURKH.

TRANSLATED
BY REV. A. H. SAYCE, M.A.

KURKH is the modern name of some important ruins on the right bank of the Tigris, about 20 miles distant from Diarbekr, which probably represent the Karkathiokerta of the classical geographers. The inscription set up here by Shalmaneser, though unfortunately much mutilated as will be seen from the translation, is of great interest on account both of its supplementing the annals of the king recorded on the Black Obelisk of Nimrud and of the mention in it of Ahab of Israel.¹ A copy of the original will be found in *W. A. I.* Vol. III. pl. 7, 8, and the larger part of it has already been translated by M. Ménant in his "*Annales des Rois d'Assyrie*" (1874) as well as

¹ The monument is now in the British Museum.
VOL. III.

previously by M. Oppert. The present, however, is the first translation of the whole inscription.

Shalmaneser had a long reign of 35 years, during which he came into contact with Ahab, Jehu, Hazael and other Biblical personages. In accordance with the astronomical system used in Assyria, a sort of jubilee was kept in his 31st year, the king "inaugurating the cycle for the second time" as he tells us in the Black Obelisk inscription. It may be added that the dates given in the latter inscription do not always agree with those in the one before us ; a fact which illustrates the necessity of critical caution even when we are dealing with cotemporary documents.



INSCRIPTION OF SHALMANESER.

COLUMN I.

- 1 ASSUR, the great Lord, King of all the assembly of the great gods; ANU King of the spirits of heaven and earth, Lord of the world; BEL, the father of the gods, the determiner of destinies,
- 2 the assembler of solemn assemblies; HEA, the Leader, King of the abyss of chaos,¹ the Overseer of the *treasures* of heaven (and) earth, the Prince of heaven, the Lord; the SUN-GOD
- 3 the Judge of mankind, the supreme; (and) ISTAR, Queen of war and battle, who (stirs up) the strength of contention;—the great gods, the promoters of my sovereignty,
- 4 who extend lordship over multitudes and union, the glory of my fame, empire, and all Princes mightily have they made for me,
- 5 SHALMANESER, King of the multitudes of men, the Prince, the Servant of ASSUR, the powerful King, King of Assyria, King of all the four races,² a Sun-god
- 6 ruling multitudes of men throughout the world, the purified of the gods, the servant of the eyes of BEL, the High-priest of ASSUR, the royal guardian, the glorious, the ruler
- 7 of roads and Lord of streets, the trampler on the heads of mountains (and) all forests, receiver of the tribute and riches

¹ The Assyrian word is *bahu* (the *bohu* of Gen. i. 2). Bahu is generally the wife of Hea; here, however, the term is used as an epithet of "the abyss" over which Hea ruled.

² Of Syria.

- 8 of all these lands, opener of the trackless places
 which (are) above and below¹ which against the onset of
 his mighty battle the countries caused to be extended,
 9 the *hope* of the world (which) in the exercise of his
 bravery he founded, the powerful Minister who in the
 service of ASSUR and SAMAS the gods his helpers has
 often marched
 10 and among the Kings of the four races his rival had
 not, Monarch of the world, the Sovereign who (through)
 trackless paths has often marched (and) opened out
 mountains and seas,
 11 the son of ASSUR-NATSIR-PAL, the offspring of BEL,
 the servant of ASSUR, whose power over (him) the gods
 have made good and caused all the countries of the
 world to submit to (be) under him, the glorious scion of
 TIGLATH-ADAR
 12 who laid his yoke on hostile lands and swept (them)
 like a whirlwind. At that time ASSUR the great Lord in
 his firm resolution brought me forth before his eyes and
 ears, and
 13 (to) the sovereignty of Assyria proclaimed me.
 Powerful force(s) I slaughtered. The disobedient I
 coerced, and²
 14 to work and labour have urged me. At that
 time, at the beginning of my reign, in my first campaign
 15 on the throne of my sovereignty in Majesty I had
 seated myself. The chariots of my armies I assembled.
 Into the lowlands of the country of 'Sime'si I descended.
 To the city of Aridi,³ the fortress
 16 of Ninni, I approached. The city I besieged, I took.

¹ That is, northward and southward of Assyria.

² Here follows a lacuna which it is hazardous to fill up by conjecture.

³ Aridu was a city of Nahri, " (the land) of rivers " (the Aram-Naharaim of Scripture) on the north-west of Assyria.

Its numerous fighting-men I slew. Its spoil I carried away. A pyramid of heads over against¹ that city I built up.

- 17 The sons and the daughters of their nobles² for holocausts I burned. While I was stopping in the city of Aridi the tribute of the countries of Murgāsā, of the Murma'sians,
- 18 the 'Sime'sians, the 'Simeyans, the 'Sirisians, (and) the Ulmanians, horses trained to the yoke, oxen, sheep, (and) goats, I received. From the city of Aridi
- 19 I departed. Trackless paths (and) difficult mountains, which like the point of an iron sword stood pointed to the sky, on wheels of iron (and) bronze I penetrated.³ (My) chariots.
- 20 (and) armies I transported over (them). To the city of Khupuscia⁴ I approached. The city of Khupuscia together with 100 cities which depended on it with fire I burned. CACIA
- 21 King of the country of Na'iri and the remains of his army from before the sight of my weapons fled-in-fear, and occupied the fastnesses of the mountains. After them the mountains I ascended.
- 22 A hard battle in the midst of the mountains I fought.⁵ A destruction of them I made.⁶ Chariots, numerous soldiers, (and) horses trained to the yoke from the midst of the mountain I brought back. Exceeding fear
- 23 of ASSUR my Lord overwhelmed them. They came

¹ Lit., "in the coming to."

² Lit., "the nobles, their young men and their young women."

³ Lit., "I dug up."

⁴ On the north-east of Assyria among the mountains of Armenia.

⁵ Lit., "I made."

⁶ Lit., "I overthrew."

- forth and took my feet.¹ Taxes and tribute upon them I fixed. From the city of Khupuscia I departed.
- 24 To the city of 'Sugunia, his stronghold, belonging to ARAME (King) of the Armenians, I approached. The city I besieged, I took. Their fighting men in numbers I slew.
- 25 Its spoil I carried away. A pyramid of heads over against that city I built up. Fourteen cities which depended upon it with fire I burned. From the city of 'Sugunia
- 26 I departed. To the sea of the land of Na'iri² I descended. My weapons by the sea-side I stayed. Sacrifices to my gods I performed. At that time an image of my person
- 27 I made. The decrees of ASSUR, the Lord of Princes, my Lord, and my collected laws upon it I wrote. By the sea-side I erected (it). On my return
- 28 from the sea, the tribute of A'su (King) of the country of Gozan, horses, oxen, sheep, goats, 2 camels which (have) two humps, I received.
- 29 To my city Assur³ I brought (them). In the month Iyyar,⁴ the 13th day, the city of Nineveh I quitted; the river Tigris I crossed. The countries of Kha'samu (and) Dikhnunu I passed through.
- 30 To the city of Lahlahte which belonged to AKHUNI the son of ADINI I approached. Exceeding fear of ASSUR

¹ In token of submission.

² That is Lake Van. Shalmaneser elsewhere speaks of his rule over the upper and lower seas of Nahri, which Sir H. Rawlinson has identified with the lakes of Van and Urumiyeh.

³ The primitive capital of Assyria from which the whole country derived its name, now represented by Kalah-Shergat. It was the Ellasar of Genesis.

⁴ Iyyar answers roughly to our April. Shalmaneser is here speaking of his second campaign (856 B.C.).

my Lord overwhelmed him (and he fled to his fortified city. The high ground)

- 31 I ascended. The city I threw down, dug up (and) burned with fire. From the city of Lahlahti I departed. (To the city of Ci . . . ka)
- 32 which belonged to AKHUNI the son of ADINI I approached. AKHUNI, the son of ADINI, to the power (of his army trusted), and battle (and) war (he made) with me. In the service of ASSUR
- 33 and the great gods my Lords with him I fought. A destruction of him I made. In his city I shut him up. From the city of Ci . . . ka I departed.
- 34 To the city of Burmarahna belonging to AKHUNI, the son of ADINI (I approached. The city) I besieged, I took. Three hundred of their fighting-men with arrows I slew. A pyramid of heads
- 35 (over against the city I built up.) The tribute of KHAPINI of the city of Tul-Abnā (of) GAHUNI of the city of 'Sa (and) of CIGIRI-RIMMON
- 36 (of the city of),—silver, gold, oxen, sheep, (and) goats,—I received. From the city of Burmarahna I departed. In great vessels of skins the river Euphrates
- 37 I crossed, and the tribute of KATAZILU (King) of Comagene,—silver, gold, oxen, sheep, (and) goats,—I received. The city of Paburrukhbuni
- 38 (and) the cities of AKHUNI the son of ADINI on the hither banks of the Euphrates I approached. A destruction of the country I made. Devastation (and) death
- 39 I scattered. With the destruction of his warriors the broad desert I filled. 1,300 soldiers, their fighting men, with arrows I slew.
- 40 From the city of Paburrukhbuni I departed. To the cities of MUTALLI of the city of the Gamgumians I approached. The tribute

- 41 of MUTALLI of the city of the Gamgumians, silver,
gold, oxen, sheep, goats, (and) his daughter with a large
gift, I received. From the city of Gamgume
- 42 I departed. To the city of Lutibu, his strong city,
belonging to KHANU of the country of the 'Samahlians I
approached. KHANU of the country of the 'Samahlians,
'SAPALULME
- 43 of the country of the Patinians,¹ AKHUNI the son of
ADINI, (and) 'SANGARA of the country of the Carchemi-
shians² to the help of one another trusted and marshalled
themselves
- 44 for battle. (When) to make plunder after me they had
come, by the supreme powers of NERGAL who marches
before me and with mighty weapons
- 45 which ASSUR the Lord furnished, with them I fought.
A destruction of them I made. Their fighting-men
- 46 with arrows I slew. Like the Air-god over them a
deluge I rained. In ditches I heaped them. With the
spoil
- 47 of their warriors the broad desert I filled. Their
corpses like chaff through the country I scattered. Mul-
titudes of (their) chariots, (and) their horses
- 48 trained to the yoke I seized. A pyramid of heads
over against the city (of KHANU) I built up. His cities
I pulled down, dug up, (and) burned with fire.
- 49 At that time I hung up the ordinances of the great

¹ The Patinai have been compared with the Biblical Padan-Aram or "plain of Syria."

² Carchemish, the Circesium of classical geography, stood at the junction of the Khaboras and Euphrates and was the key of the high-road to the West. Its possession, therefore, was a matter of great military importance. After the destruction of Tyre by the Assyrians Carchemish became the centre of trade in the East and the "maneh of Carchemish" was one of the chief standards of commerce. 'Sangara probably gave his name to the Singara of the classical geographers which was situated upon the Khaboras and after which the neighbouring range of hills was called.

- gods, wherein¹ to ASSUR and SAMAS their victories I ascribed. For future days an image of my Majesty
- 50 of a great size I made. The records of my victories (and) my triumphant deeds upon it I wrote. At the head of the sources of the river 'Saluara
- 51 which (lies) at the foot of the mountains of Amanus I erected (it). From the country of Amanus I departed. The river Arantu² I crossed. To the city of Alizir
- 52 his stronghold, belonging to 'SAPALULME (King) of the country of the Patinians I approached. 'SAPALULME (King) of the city of the Patinians, to save
- 53 his life, (made alliance with) AKHUNI son of ADINI, 'SANGARA of the city of the Carchemishians, KHAINU of the country of the 'Samahlians, CATE of the country of the Kuans, PIKHIRIM of the country of the Khilucians,³ BURANATE of the country of the Yazbukians, (and) ADU

COLUMN II.

The first few lines, describing the defeat of the confederacy and the spoil which Shalmaneser carried away, are destroyed, and the inscription does not become legible again until line 4.

- 4 (Their fighting men with) arrows I slew. In the midst of this battle BURANATE (of the country of Yazbukians)
- 5 took my hand. The great fortified cities of the Patinians I threw down, (dug up, and burned with fire.)
- 6 The upper (cities) of Palestine and the sea of the setting sun

¹ Or, "I satisfied the ordinances of the great gods, in that."

² The Orontes of classical geography.

³ Khiluk may be the same as Khilak or Cilicia.

- 7 The tribute of the Kings of the sea-coast I received.
On the shores of the broad sea
- 8 I descended. An image of my Lordship, the main-
tainer of my name for ages, I made. By the sea-side (I
set it up).
- 9 To the mountains of Amanus I ascended. Logs of
cedar and fir I cut. To mountains (I went up. Against)
- 10 the land of Atalur, an uninhabited place of deserts
(and) *low-lying*, I went. Its tribute I appointed. From
the sea (I departed.)
- 11 The cities of Tayā . . Khazazu, Nulia, (and) Butāmu,
belonging to the Patinians, I took. Two thousand eight
hundred fighting-men
- 12 I slew. Fourteen thousand six hundred of their slaves
I carried away. The tribute of ARAME, the son of
GU'SI, silver, gold, oxen
- 13 sheep, goats, ornaments of gold, (and) silver specie,
I received. In the same year during my own eponymy,¹
in the month Iyyar, the 13th day, from the city (of
Nineveh)
- 14 I departed. The river Tigris I crossed. Through the
countries of Kha'samu (and) Dikhnunu I passed. To
the city of Tul-Barsip, the stronghold of AKHUNI
- 15 the son of ADINI, I approached. AKHUNI the son of
ADINI to the power of his armies trusted and to meet me
came. A destruction of him I made. In (his city)
- 16 I shut him up. From the city of Tul-Barsip I de-
parted. In large vessels of skin the Euphrates in its upper
part I crossed. The cities of ga, Tagi ,
- 17 'Surunu, Paripa, Mabasere, (and) Dabigu, 6 of his
strongholds belonging to AKHUNI I took. His fighting-
men

¹ Lit., "in the eponymy of the year of my name aforesaid."

- 18 in numbers I slew. Their spoil I carried away. Two hundred cities which depended on him I threw down, dug up (and) burned with fire. From the city of Dabigu (I departed).
- 19 To the city of 'Sazabe, his stronghold belonging to 'SANGARA of the city of Carchemish, I approached. The city I besieged, I took. Their fighting-men in numbers I slew.
- 20 Their spoil I carried away. The cities which depended on him I threw down, dug up, (and) burned with fire. The Kings of the country, throughout the whole extent of it,
- 21 from before the sight of my mighty weapons and my watchful battle fled-in-fear and took my feet. (From) their country, even the country of the Patinians,
- 22 3 talents of gold, 100 talents of silver, 300 talents of bronze, 300 talents of iron, 1000 plates of bronze, 1000 robes of variegated thread and wool, their daughters
- 23 with numerous presents, 20 talents of white (and) purple raiment, 500 oxen, 5000 sheep I received. Two talents of white (and) purple raiment for one talent of precious metal, (and) 100 beams of cedar,
- 24 as tribute, over them I imposed. The fixed sum in my city Assur I duly received. (From) KHAYANU, the son of GABBARI, who (dwelt) at the foot of Amanus, talents of silver, talents
- 25 of copper, talent(s) of iron, 300 robes of variegated thread and wool, 300 oxen, 3000 sheep, 200 beams of cedar, 2 *images* of cedar, (and)
- 26 his daughter with her gifts I received. Ten manehs of silver, 200 beams of cedar, *images* of cedar, as tribute upon them I imposed. The fixed sum
- 27 I duly received. (From) ARAMU, the son of AGU'SI, 10 manehs of gold, 6 talents of silver, 500 oxen, (and)

- 5000 sheep I received. (From) 'SANGARA of the city of the Carchemishians one-third talent
- 28 of gold, one and a sixth talent of silver, 30 talents of bronze, 100 talents of iron, 20 talents of white (and) purple cloth, 5 thrones, his daughter with gifts and 100 of his nobles' daughters,
- 29 500 oxen, (and) 5000 sheep I received. One maneh of gold (and) 2 talents of white and purple cloth to one talent of silver, a *high* tribute, I imposed. The fixed sum I duly received. (From) KATAZILU,
- 30 of Comagene, 20 manehs of silver, (and) 300 beams of cedar, the fixed sum I duly received. In the eponymy of ASSUR-BILA-CAYIN, the month Tammuz, the 13th day, from the city of Nineveh I departed.
- 31 The river Tigris I crossed. The countries of Kha'samu (and) Dikhnnunu I traversed. To the city of Tul-Barsip, his stronghold belonging to AKHUNI the son of ADINI I betook myself. AKHUNI
- 32 the son of ADINI from before the sight of my mighty weapons and my watchful battle to save his life (fled-in-fear). The Tigris I crossed (to go)
- 33 against the hostile countries (which had) revolted. By the command of ASSUR, my great Lord, the cities of Tul-Barsip, Aligu, . . sagukāna, (and) Manyā
- 34 I seized. Men, even the men of Assyria, in the midst (of the country) I settled. The palaces for the seat of my Majesty within it I took. The city of Tul-Barsip the city of "The Fort of Shalmaneser"
- 35 by name, the city of Nappigi the city of "The Law of Assur" by name, the city of Alligi the city "I took; not for you" by name, the city of Ruguliti the city of "The Command (of ASSUR)" by name, I called them. At that time
- 36 to the city of Assur I returned. I took what the kings

- of the Patinians had called the city of Pethor, which (is) upon the river 'Sagura on the hither side of the Euphrates,
- 37 and the city of Mutūnu which (is) on the further side of the Euphrates, which TIGLATH-PILESER, the royal forefather who went before me had (united) to my country, (but) ASSUR-RAB-BURI
- 38 King of Assyria (and) the King of Syria (ARUMU) by a treaty had taken away, these cities to their places I restored. The children of the Assyrians in the midst (of them) I settled.
- 39 While in the city of the Fort of Shalmaneser I was staying, the tribute of the kings of the sea-coast and of the kings of the banks of the Euphrates, silver, gold, lead, bronze,
- 40 plates of bronze, oxen, sheep, robes of variegated thread and wool, I received. From the Fort of Shalmaneser I departed. The country of 'Sugab I traversed.
- 41 Into the country of Bit-zamāni I descended. From the city of Bit-zamāni I departed. The countries of Namdānu (and) Mirkhi'su I traversed. Trackless paths (and) mountains
- 42 difficult, which like the end of a sword stood pointed to the sky, on wheels of iron I penetrated.¹ (My) chariots (and) armies I transported. To the country of Enzite (belonging) to the land of Isua²
- 43 I went down. The country of Enzite to its whole extent (my) hand(s) conquered. Their cities I threw down, dug up, (and) burned with fire. Their spoil, their booty, their riches, to a countless number,
- 44 I carried off. An image of my Majesty of a large size I made. The decrees of ASSUR, the great Lord, my

¹ Lit., "I dug up."

² Enzite was near the river Arzanian, and Mr. Norris notes that "Maps of Armenia have the name Arzen at the sources of the Tigris."

Lord, and my collected laws upon it I wrote. (In) the city of 'Saluri, the citadel I erected (it).

- 45 From the city of Enzite I departed. The river Arzania I crossed. To the country of 'Sukhme I approached. The city of Vastal, its capital, I took. The country of 'Sukhme to its whole extent
- 46 I overthrew, dug up (and) burned with fire. 'SUA, the Chief of their city, with the hand I seized. From the country of 'Sukhme I departed. To the country of Dayāni I went down. The city of Dayāni
- 47 to its whole extent I occupied. Their cities I threw down, dug up (and) burned with fire. Their spoil (and) their plunder in great quantities I took. From the country of Dayāni I departed.
- 48 To the city of Arzascu, the city of His Majesty, belonging to ARRAAME (King) of the Armenians, I approached. ARRAAME of the Armenians from before the sight of my mighty weapons
- 49 (and) my watchful battle fled-in-fear and his city abandoned. To the mountains of the country of Adduri he ascended. After him to the mountains I ascended. A hard battle in the midst of the mountains I fought. Three thousand four hundred
- 50 of his fighting-men with weapons I slew. Like the Air-god a deluge over them I rained. Their corpses like chaff I scattered. His camp I despoiled him of.
- 51 His chariots, his magazines, his horses, his asses (and) calves, his riches, his spoil (and) his booty in large quantities from the midst of the mountains I brought back. ARRAAME to save
- 52 his life to inaccessible mountains ascended. With the main-body of my servants his country like a threshing-ox I threshed. To his cities devastation I brought. The city of Arzascu together with the cities

53 which depended upon it I threw down, dug up (and) burned with fire. Pyramids of the heads of the people over against his great gate I built up. . . .

[Here occurs a lacuna of nearly a whole line.]

54 heaps on stakes I impaled. From the city of Arzascu I departed. To the mountains

55 (I ascended). An image of my Majesty of a large size I made. The decrees of ASSUR my Lord, and my collected laws, which in the country of Armenia I had made, upon it

56 (I wrote. In the country of Eritia) I erected (it). From the country of Eritia I departed. To the city of Aramale I approached. Its cities I threw down, dug up (and) burned with fire.

57 From the city of Aramale I departed. To the city of Zanzi'una (I approached. The King of Zanzi'una feared my battle.) My feet he took.

58 Horses trained to the yoke, oxen (and) sheep I received. Grace I granted. (From the city of Zanzi'una I departed, On my return) to the sea

59 of the country of Na'iri I descended. The mighty weapons of ASSUR in the midst of the sea I stayed. Sacrifices I offered. An image of my Majesty I made. The decrees

60 of ASSUR the great Lord, my Lord, the records of my victories and my triumphant deeds upon it I wrote. (From the sea) I departed. To the land of Gilzāni

61 I approached. A'SAHU¹ King of Gilzāni to his

¹ A'sahu is called 'Suha in the first epigraph of the Black Obelisk inscription. He seems to be identical with the A'su of Gozan of Col. I 28. In this case Gilzanu will be another form of Guzanu, the Gozan of the Bible, which lay between the upper courses of the Tigris and Euphrates. Nisibis was one of its chief cities.

- brothers (and) his sons my name reported, (and a throne)
of royalty, horses
- 62 trained to the yoke, oxen, sheep, goats, and 7 camels
which have two humps I received. An image of my
Majesty of great size I made. The decrees of ASSUR,
the great Lord, my Lord,
- 63 and my collected laws, which in the land of Nahri I
made, upon it I wrote. In the midst of his city, in his
chief temple, I erected (it). From the land of Gilzāni
I departed.
- 64 To the city of Silaya, his strong city belonging to CACI
King of the city Khupuscia, I approached. The city I
besieged, I took. Their soldiers in numbers I slew.
Three thousand captives, their oxen,
- 65 their sheep, horses, asses, (and) calves to a countless
number I carried away. To my city Assur I brought
(them). Into the lowlands of the country of Enzite I
descended. In the lowlands of the country of Kirruri,
- 66 at the entrance of the city of Arbela I came forth ;
and AKHUNI the son of ADINI, who with¹ the kings my
fathers a covenant and treaty had made (with regard to
whom, when) at the beginning of my reign in the
eponymy
- 67 of the year of my own name from the city of Nineveh
I departed, the city of Tul-Barsip his capital I besieged ;
(with) my warriors I attacked it ; (a destruction) in the
midst of it I made ;
- 68 its groves I cut down ; a falling-rain of clubs upon it
I poured ; from before the sight of my weapons (and) the
terror of my Lordship he retreated, and his city he left ;
- 69 to save his life the Euphrates he crossed ; in the second
year during the eponymy of ASSUR-BANAYA-YUTSUR
after him I rode down. The country of Sitamrat (and)

¹ Lit., "from (the time of) the kings."

the heights of the mountains on the banks of the Euphrates,

70 which like a cloud equalled the sky, as a stronghold he made. By the command of ASSUR the great Lord, my Lord, and NERGAL who goes before me, to the country of Sitamrat I approached.

71 Where among the Kings my fathers none within it had ever penetrated in 3 days (my) warrior-host traversed the mountain; bravely (in) its heart opposition it brought, and ascended on its feet. The mountain

72 I swept. AKHUNI to the extent of his numerous forces trusted and against me came forth. The line of battle he formed. The weapons of ASSUR my Lord in the midst of them fell-full. A destruction of them

73 I made. The heads of his fallen I cut off. (With) the corpses of his soldiers the mountain I strewed. His multitudes into the hollows of the mountains had been driven together. Fierce battle in the midst of his city

74 I engaged. Exceeding fear of ASSUR my Lord overwhelmed them. (When) they had descended my feet they took. AKHUNI with his numerous forces (and) chariots, his magazines, (and) the goods of their palaces in great quantities,

75 of which the whole was not taken, to my presence I brought,¹ The Euphrates I crossed. To my city ASSUR I conveyed (them). As men of my own country I counted them. In this same year to the country of Mazamua² I went. Into the lowlands

76 of the country of Buna-gislu I descended. The cities

¹ The capture of Akhuni which is here placed in the eponymy of Assur-banaya-yutsur (856 B.C.) belongs to the eponymy of Dayan-Assur (854 B.C.) according to the Black Obelisk.

² Mazamua is also called Zamua. It lay on the Armenian side of the Taurus range of mountains.

- Nikdime (and) Nikdera¹ I approached. From before the sight of my mighty weapons and my watchful battle they fled-in-fear, and
- 77 in boats of wickerwork to the sea they proceeded. In boats of hardened skin after them I betook myself. A hard battle in the midst of the sea I fought. A destruction of them I made.
- 78 The sea (with) their wrecks like chaff I strewed. In the eponymy of DAYAN-ASSUR, the month Iyyar, the 14th day, from the city of Nineveh I departed. The Tigris I crossed. To the cities
- 79 of Gi'ammu (of) the river Kaskura I approached. The terror of my Lordship (and) the sight of my mighty weapons they feared, and to prove their own submission² GI'AMMU their Lord
- 80 they slew. To the city of Citlala and the city of the Mound of Pal-akhi I descended. My gods I caused to enter his palaces. A plundering in his palaces I made.
- 81 The store-chambers I opened. His treasure I seized. His goods, his spoil I carried off. To my city ASSUR I brought (them). From the city of Citlala I departed. To the city of the Fort of Shalmaneser
- 82 I approached. In vessels of hardened skin for the second time the Euphrates in its upper part I crossed. The tribute of the kings of the hither bank of the Euphrates, of 'SANGAR
- 83 of the city of the Carchemishians, of CUNDASPI of the city of the Comagenians, of ARAME the son of GU'SI, of LALLI of the city of the Lallidians, of KHAYANI the son of GABARI,
- 84 of DIPPARUDA of the country of the Patinians, (and)

¹ Nigdiara is called the chief of the city of the Idians in the Black Obelisk inscription and their conquest is placed in the eponymy of Dayan-Assur.

² Lit., "in the homage of themselves."

- of DIPPARUDA of the country of the Gamgumians,
silver, gold, lead, bronze, plates of bronze,
85 (in) the city Assur-tamsukha-atsbat,¹ which (is) on the
hither side of the Euphrates upon the river 'Saguri, which
the men of the Hittites the city of Pethor
86 have called, in the midst (of it) I received. From
upon the Euphrates I departed. To the city of Khalman
I approached. Battle they feared. My feet they took.
87 Silver (and) gold (as) their tribute I received. Sacrifices
before the Air-god of the city of Khalman I offered.
From the city of Khalman I departed. To two cities
88 of IRKHULENI of the country of Hamath I approached.
The cities of Adennu,² Bargā, and Arganā his royal city,
I took. His spoil, his riches,
89 (and) the furniture of his palaces I caused to be brought
out. To his palaces fire I laid. From the city of Arganā
I departed. To the city of Karkara I approached.
90 The city of Karkara, the city of (His) Majesty, I threw
down, dug up (and) burned with fire. 1200 chariots,
1200 magazines, (and) 20,000 men of RIMMON-'HIDRI³
91 of Damascus, 700 chariots, 700 magazines, (and) 10,000
men of IRKHULENI of Hamath, 2000 chariots, (and)
10,000 men of AHAB (*Akhabbu*)
92 of the country of the Israelites, 500 men of the Guites,
1000 men of the country of the Egyptians, 10 chariots
(and) 10,000 men of the country of the Irkanatians,
93 200 men of MATIN-BAAL of the city of the Arvadites,

¹ This name would signify "I, Assur, took the measuring-line." If we may alter one of the characters in this passage (with Prof. Schrader), the translation would be: "(to) the city of Assur I brought back. I seized (the city) which (is) on the hither side, etc.; in the midst (of it) I received (the tribute)."

² The Eden of Scripture.

³ This is the Ben-hadad of the Bible whose personal name was, I believe, Rimmon-adar.

- 200 men of the country of the U'sanatians, 30 chariots
(and) 10,000 men
- 94 of ADONI-BAAL of the country of the Sizanians, 1000
camels of GINDIBRI'AH of the country of the Arbayans,¹
200 men
- 95 of BAH'SA the son of RUKHUBI of the country of the
Ammonites, these twelve kings brought help to one
another, (and to make)
- 96 war and battle against me had come. Through the
high powers which ASSUR the Lord gave, through the
mighty weapons which NERGAL (who goes before me)
- 97 furnished, with them I fought. From the city of
Karkara to the city Gilza'u a destruction of them I made.
14,000 men
- 98 of their troops with weapons I slew. Like the Air-god
over them a deluge I poured. (With) their flight
- 99 the surface of the waters I filled. All their hosts with
weapons I laid low. Their corpses the area of the
district
- 100 failed.² To give the preservation of (their) lives to
the people, an enormous multitude³ (of them) to their
fields I distributed among the men of the land.
- 101 The river Orontes, close upon (its) banks, I reached.
In the midst of this battle their chariots, their magazines,
(and)
- 102 their horses trained to the yoke I took away from
them.

¹ Probably Arabians.

² That is, there was not space enough for all the dead bodies.

³ Here, it seems to me, Mr. Norris's happy emendation of the text must be adopted.

INSCRIPTION OF ESARHADDON.

TRANSLATED BY

H. F. TALBOT, F.R.S., etc.

IT is recorded in 2 Kings xix. 37 and in Isaiah xxxvii. 38

“So Sennacherib King of Assyria departed and went, and returned and dwelt at Nineveh.

“And it came to pass as he was worshipping in the house of Nisroch his god, that Adrammelech and Sharezer his sons smote him with the sword; and they escaped into the land of Armenia.

“And Esarhaddon his son reigned in his stead.”

The Inscription of which I here offer a translation relates to this important event. It is always a pleasure to find an Assyrian inscription which describes, in its own way, events corresponding to those mentioned in Scripture. The clay tablets

which have been brought home from Assyria are for the most part miserably fractured, but in no instance is there greater reason to regret the loss of a part of an inscription than here. For, it is evident that the portion of it which is lost, described the murder of Sennacherib by his unnatural sons and the receipt of the sad intelligence by Esarhaddon, who was then commanding an army on the northern confines of his father's empire. Had it been preserved, we should possibly have found in it the names of Adrammelech and Sharezer and many particulars of the tragic event.

This Inscription found at Kouyunjik, is now in the British Museum. It was first published by Layard in plates 54—58 of his volume of *Inscriptions*, and since then, much more accurately, in the 3rd volume of *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, plates 15 and 16. 1st column translated in the *North British Review*, 1870, p. 379.



THE INSCRIPTION.

COLUMN I.

(*All the upper part of this column is lost.*)

1 (*This line is broken.*)

2 From my heart I made a vow. My liver was inflamed with rage.¹

3 Immediately I wrote letters (*saying*) that I assumed the sovereignty of my Father's House.

4 Then to ASHUR, the MOON, the SUN, BEL, NEBO, NER GAL,

5 ISHTAR of Niniveh, and ISHTAR of Arbela

6 I lifted up my hands. They accepted my prayer.

7 In their gracious favour, an encouraging oracle

8 they sent to me : "Go ! fear not !

9 We march at thy side ! We aid thy expedition !"

10 For one or two days² I did not stir from my position ;
I did not move the front of my army,

11 and I did not move my rear : the tethering ropes of
my horses, trained to the double yoke,³

12 I did not remove. I did not strike my camp.

13 But I made haste to provide the needful for the expedition.

14 A great snow storm in the month of January⁴ darkened the sky, but I did not recede.

¹ The liver was the seat of rage or anger according to the ancients—
"quantâ jecur ardeat irâ." (Juvenal.)

² The army was in winter quarters, not expecting any service, when it was thus suddenly called upon to act. Hence the delay of some days in getting ready.

³ Their chariots were drawn by 2 horses.

⁴ He was then in the mountains, where the snow-drifts would soon make the ways impassable to an army.

- 15 Then, as a *sirin* bird spreads its wings
 16 so I displayed my standards, as a signal to my allies ;
 17 and with much toil, and in haste, I took the road to
 Niniveh.
 18 But, getting before my troops, in the hill country of the
 Khani-Rabbi, all their warriors
 19 powerful attacked the front of my army and discharged
 their arrows.
 20 But the terror of the great gods my Lords overwhelmed
 them.
 21 When they saw the valour of my great army they
 retreated backwards.
 22 ISHTAR queen of war and battle, who loves my piety,
 23 stood by my side. She broke their bows.
 24 Their line of battle in her rage she destroyed.
 25 To their army she spoke thus : "An unsparing deity
 am I."
 26 By her high command (or favour) I planted my
 standards where I had intended.¹

COLUMN II.

(The commencement of this column is broken off. The meaning is doubtful : but it seems that during the time of trouble which followed the death of SENNACHERIB, a son of MERODACH BALADAN named NEBO-ZIR-ZIZ or NEBO-ZIR-GISIDI took the opportunity to rebel in lower Chaldæa. The following lines appear to refer to this event.)

- 1 the insurgent King
 2 assembled his camp, and marching against NIN-GAL

¹ This probably means, "I planted them at Niniveh:" but the rest of the column being broken off, the necessary explanation of the phrase is wanting.

- 3 Prefect of Ur, who was my loyal subject,
 4 killed him with the sword; and seized his
 5 and even after the time that ASHUR, the SUN, BEL,
 NEBO, ISHTAR of Niniveh
 6 and ISHTAR of Arbela had me, ESARHADDON,
 7 on the throne of my father happily seated,
 8 and the sovereignty of the land had given to me, even
 then he worshipped me not:
 9 he gave me no more gifts, he would not do homage
 to me,
 10 and his envoy to my presence
 11 he would not send. He would not even enquire after
 the health of My Majesty.¹
 12 When I heard at Niniveh of his evil doings,
 13 my heart swelled: my liver was inflamed with rage.
 My Officers
 14 and Magistrates who were nearest his land I sent
 against him.
 15 Then he, NEBO-ZIR-ZIZ who was a gluttonous vile
 ignoble man
 16 hearing of the march of my troops, fled away con-
 temptibly to the land of Elam.
 17 Nevertheless the *anger* of the great gods whose worship
 he had abandoned, ASHUR, the MOON, the SUN,
 18 BEL and NEBO laid great affliction upon him
 19 and in the land of Elam slew him with the sword.
 20 NEITH-MARDUK his brother, the deeds in the land of
 Elam
 21 which I had done to his brother, seeing,
 22 from the land of Elam fled, and to do homage to me
 23 came into Assyria, and supplicated my Majesty.
 24 The province of the sea coast, the whole of it, which
 was the inheritance of his brother, I gave to him.

¹ A universal custom. To neglect it showed hostile intentions.

- 25 Every year without fail, with great presents
 26 to Niniveh he came and kissed my feet.

-
- 27 ABDI-MILKUTTI King of Sidon
 28 a non-worshipper of My Majesty, and disobedient to
 my royal words,
 29 who trusted to his position on the Great Sea and had
 shaken off my yoke,
 30 the city of Sidon, his great city, which lay beside the
 Great Sea

* * * *

(The rest of the story of the King of Sidon is broken off :
 but it is preserved on the other inscription marked B.)

COLUMN III.

(The third column is a good deal broken but is very well
 preserved in the other inscription B. I therefore omit it
 here.)

COLUMN IV.

(This column relates the conquest of Batzu an Arabian
 country, nearly in the same terms as in the inscription B. I
 therefore omit it, except the following passage which
 amplifies in an important degree the brief statement of
 inscription B, namely, "I put to death 8 of their sovereigns"
 (col. iii. 37) by giving us their names, as follows,)

- 19 KITZU King of Kaldili ; AKBARU¹ King of Dupiati ;
 20 MANSABA King of Magalani ; YAPAA Queen of
 Dihutani

¹ A name related to the Arabic *Akbar* (great). It is also probably the
 same with Abgarus whose name is celebrated in early ecclesiastical history.

- 21 HABITZU King of Kadasiha: NIKHARU King of
Gahupani:
22 BAILU Queen of Ikhilu: HABANAMRU King of Budahu:
23 the eight sovereigns of that country, I put to death.
24 The bodies of their soldiers I flung away like so much
clay:
25 their gods, their wealth, and their people I carried off
to Assyria.

(It will be observed that two of the sovereigns were queens. This was a frequent custom in Arabia, according to the cuneiform inscriptions, but as far as I have observed it was confined to that country. This fact is a striking illustration of Scripture History, for it explains how the Queen of Sheba (or the Sabeans of Arabia) was able to display such royal magnificence when she visited Solomon. She was a reigning sovereign.)

COLUMN V.

(The beginning of this column agrees with the inscription B, and is therefore omitted. But at line 12 an important passage is added.)

- 12 I assembled the Kings of Syria, and of the nations
beyond the sea:
13 BAAL King of Tyre: MANASSEH King of Judah:
14 KADUMUKH King of Edom: MITZURI King of Moab:
15 REUBEN? King of Gaza: MITINTI King of Ascalon:
16 ITUZU King of Amgarrun: MILKI-ASAPH King of
Gubal:
17 KULU-BAAL King of Arvad: ABI-BAAL King of
Ussimiruna:

- 18 BUDUEL King of Beth-Ammon¹: USSUR-MILKI² King of Ashdod :
- 19 the twelve kings of the sea coast. Also EKISTUZ King of Edihal³
- 20 PISUAGURA King of Kittie⁴: KI King of Sillumi⁵:
- 21 ITU-DAGON⁶ King of Pappa⁷: ERILI King of Sillu⁸:
- 22 DAMASUS King of Kuri⁹: RUMITZU King of Tamisus¹⁰:
- 23 DAMUSI King of Amti-khadasta¹¹:
- 24 UNASSAGURA,¹² King of Lidini: BUTZU King of Upri
¹³
- 25 The ten Kings of Cyprus¹⁴ which is in the middle of the sea :
- 26 altogether, twenty-two Kings of Syria and the seacoast, and the islands, all of them,
- 27 and I passed them in review before me.

COLUMN VI.

(This sixth column differs but little from the corresponding portion of inscription B.)

¹ This king had a long reign, for he was king of Beth-Ammon in Sennacherib's time, see "Records of the Past," vol. i. p. 35.

² In the same page we find Uru-milki king of Gubal. I think it may be the same name.

³ Ægisthus, king of Idalium.

⁴ Pythagoras, king of Citium.

⁵ Salamis.

⁶ A Phœnician name "Dagon is with him."

⁷ Paphos.

⁸ Soloë.

⁹ Curion. Curias in Pliny.

¹⁰ A city mentioned by Homer: very celebrated for its copper mines.

¹¹ This name was changed by the Greeks to *Ammochosta* and further altered by the moderns into *Famagosta*.

¹² Anaxagoras.?

¹³ Aphrodisium.

¹⁴ The name of Cyprus in the cuneiform inscriptions is *Atnan*: whence perhaps the Greek name for the island, *Akamantis*. It took its name from cape *Akman* at the west extremity of the island, which Strabo (xiv. p. 682.) describes as a thickly wooded headland, divided into two summits rising towards the north. The Phœnician mariners probably named the island from the first land which became visible on approaching it.

THE SECOND
INSCRIPTION OF ESARHADDON.

TRANSLATED BY

H. F. TALBOT, F.R.S., ETC.

THIS Inscription written on a hexagonal prism of baked clay, was found near Niniveh on the mound of Nebbi Yunus (*prophet Jonah*). It is now in the British Museum. It was first published by Layard, *Inscriptions* pl. 20-28, and next by Rawlinson, *Inscriptions* Vol. I. pl. 45-47. I have translated it several times,¹ introducing gradual improvements as

¹ First, in *Assyrian Texts Translated*, London, 1856; then in the *Journal of Sacred Literature* vol. 9 p. 68 (April 1859); and finally in the *Transactions* of the Royal Society of Literature, vol. 7, p. 551.

the meaning of words became better known ; and I have again revised it for the present work.

This second Inscription is the one which I have denoted by the letter B in the preceding pages.



THE INSCRIPTION.

COLUMN I.

1 (ESARHADDON¹ King of Sumir) and Accad,
 2 (son of SENNACHERIB King of) Assyria,
 3 (son of SARGON) King of Assyria,
 4 (who in the name of ASSUR, BEL,) the MOON, the SUN,
 5 NEBO, MARDUK, ISHTAR of Niniveh,
 6 and ISHTAR of Arbela, the great gods his lords
 7 from the rising of the sun to the setting of the sun
 8 marched victorious without a rival.

9 Conqueror of the city Sidon, which is on the sea,
 10 sweeper away of all its villages,
 11 its citadel and residence I rooted up,
 12 and into the sea I flung them.
 13 Its place of *justice* I destroyed.
 14 ABDIMILKUTTI its king
 15 who away from my arms
 16 into the middle of the sea had fled
 17 like a fish from out of the sea
 18 I caught him, and I cut off his head.
 19 His treasure, his goods, gold and silver and precious
 stones
 20 skins of *elephants*, teeth of *elephants*, *dan* wood, *ku*
 wood,
 21 cloths, died purple and yellow, of every description
 22 and the regalia of his palace
 23 I carried off as my spoil.
 24 Men and women without number

¹ The words placed within parentheses in the first four lines are broken off, but the restoration may be considered almost certain.

25 oxen and sheep and mules
26 I swept them all off to Assyria.
27 I assembled the Kings of Syria
28 and the sea coast, all of them.¹
29 (The city of Sidon)² I built anew,
30 and I called it "The City of ESARHADDON."
31 Men, captured by my arms, natives of the lands
32 and seas of the East
33 within it I placed to dwell
34 and I set my own officers in authority over them.

35 And SANDUARRI
36 King of Kundi and Sitzu
37 an enemy and heretic, not honouring my majesty
38 who had abandoned the worship of the gods
39 trusted to his rocky stronghold
40 and ABDIMILKUTTI King of Sidon
41 took for his ally.
42 The names of the great gods side by side he wrote³
43 and to their power he trusted ;
44 but I trusted to ASHUR my Lord.
45 Like a bird, from out of the mountains
46 I took him, and I cut off his head.
47 I wrought the judgment of ASHUR my Lord
48 on the men who were criminals.
49 The heads of SANDUARRI
50 and ABDIMILKUTTI
51 by the side of those of their Chiefs I hung up :
52 and with captives young and old ; male and female,
53 to the gate of Niniveh I marched.

¹ They were summoned to do homage to him and then apparently dismissed again.

² These words are broken off.

³ As a Talisman which he probably wore about his person written on a slip of parchment.

COLUMN II.

The first lines are broken off: it appears that the King had taken some prisoners, to whom he was resolved to show no mercy.

- 1 I collected them :
 - 2 to Assyria I carried them off :
 - 3 and in front of the great entrance gate of Niniveh
 - 4 along with *bears*, dogs, and
 - 5 I left them to stay for ever.
-

- 6 And TIUSPA the Cimmerian
 - 7 a roving warrior, whose own country was remote
 - 8 in the province of Khubusna
 - 9 him and all his army I destroyed with the sword.
-

- 10 Trampler on the heads of the men of Khilakki
 - 11 and Duhuka, who dwell in the mountains,
 - 12 which front the land of Tabal,
 - 13 who trusted to their mountains
 - 14 and from days of old never submitted to my yoke :
 - 15 twenty-one of their strong cities
 - 16 and smaller towns in their neighbourhood
 - 17 I attacked captured and carried off their spoil
 - 18 I ruined destroyed and burnt them with fire.
 - 19 The rest of the men, who crimes
 - 20 and *murders* had not committed
 - 21 I only placed the yoke of my empire heavily upon them.
-

- 22 Crusher of the people of Barnaki, enemies and heretics
- 23 who dwell in Telassar¹

¹ Telassar is mentioned in 2 Kings xix. 12 and Isaiah xxxvii, 12 as a city inhabited by the children of Eden, conquered by the Assyrians in the time of Sennacherib, or perhaps earlier.

24 which, in the language of the people,
 25 Mikhran Pitan¹
 26 its name is called.

27 Destroyer of the people of Manna
 28 who worship not *the host of heaven* :
 29 and the army of ISPAKAYA
 30 King of Ashguza, their ally who could not save himself
 31 I slew with the sword.

32 Conqueror of NEBO-ZIR-ZISIDI² son of MERODACH
 BALADAN

33 who trusted to the King of Elam
 34 but did not thereby save his life.
 35 NAHIT-MARDUK³ his brother
 36 I summoned to do homage to me.
 37 From out of Elam he fled,
 38 to Niniveh my royal city
 39 he came and kissed my feet.
 40 The province of the sea coast, the whole of it,
 41 the inheritance of his brother, I gave to him.

42 Spoiler of the city of Beth-Dakkurri
 43 which is in Chaldæa, but in enmity with Babylon ;
 44 burner of SHEMS-IBNI⁴ its king
 45 a man sinister and tyrannical, who worshipped not the
 name of the Lord of lords :⁵
 46 who the lands of the children of Babylon

¹ The name *Pitan* is also capable of being pronounced Atan or Adan which has some resemblance to "Eden" in the Biblical passage.

² The name may mean, "Nebo grant a happy life!"

³ *Nahit* is the name of a goddess, otherwise Anahit: the Anaitis of Greek authors.

⁴ This name signifies "The Sun created me."

⁵ The god Marduk.

- 47 and Borsippa¹ had taken possession of.
 48 Then I the worship of BEL and NEBO within
 49 those lands restored,
 50 and to the children of Babylon and Borsippa
 51 I gave them back.
 52 NEBO-SHALLIM son of BALAZU
 53 I placed on his throne
 54 and he became my servant.
-

- 55 The city of Edom, the stronghold of the Arabians
 56 which SENNACHERIB King of Assyria
 57 my father had conquered

(The rest of this column is broken off.)

COLUMN III.

The first three lines are very much broken. A king whose name is lost, but who was probably Hazael, comes to make his submission to Esarhaddon.

- 4 with great presents
 5 to Niniveh my royal city
 6 he came and kissed my feet :
 7 then, holding forth his gods, he addressed me with
 supplications :
 8 I had pity on him :
 9 those gods, I repaired their injuries,
 10 the *emblem* of ASHUR my lord
 11 and the writing of my own name I caused to be written
 upon them
 12 and I restored them to him again.
 13 TABUA, a young woman brought up in my palace
 14 I appointed to be their Queen,

¹ Probably some outlying districts claimed by Babylon and Borsippa.

15 and with her gods to her land I restored her.
 16 65 camels, beyond the tribute which
 17 he paid to my late father, I augmented it
 18 and imposed it upon him.
 19 After the death of HAZAEL
 20 YAHILU his son
 21 I seated upon his throne :
 22 ten mana of gold, 1000 precious stones
 23 fifty camels, a thousand (.)
 24 beyond what his father paid, I imposed upon him.

25 Batzu,¹ a land whose situation is remote
 26 a most arid district, the very dwellingplace of famine,
 27 140 kasbu² of ground, rocky,
 28 broken, and strewn with cutting stones ;
 29 a wild region,³ very hot,
 30 which like a desert was full of *scorpions*:
 31 then, 20 kasbu of rocky land, a mere mountain of
 sakkilmut stone
 32 behind me I left, and I marched
 33 where from old time
 34 no King before me had ever gone.
 35 By the will of ASHUR my lord
 36 into the midst of it triumphantly I entered.
 37 Eight sovereigns⁴ who dwelt in that land
 38 I slew : their gods, their wealth, their treasures
 39 and their people I carried off to Assyria.
 40 LAYALI King of Yadihu

¹ Batzu was a province of Arabia.

² This is an exaggeration of the scribe. Read perhaps *forty kasbu*. The land of Batzu is elsewhere described as being only 100 *kasbu* from Nineveh itself.

³ Inscription A has "region," for which inscription B substitutes "20 kasbu" which I think is a mistake. Those words have probably been borrowed from line 31 where they are found again.

⁴ Their names are given in the First inscription.

- 41 who had fled from before my arms
 42 heard of the capture of his gods
 43 and to Niniveh my royal city
 44 he came to my royal presence
 45 and kissed my feet.
 46 I took pity on him : I spoke to him *kindly*.
 47 His gods which I had captured, the *emblem* of ASHUR
 my lord
 48 I wrote upon them, and gave them to him again.
 49 Those provinces of the land of Batzu
 50 I gave to him ;
 51 tribute payable to my Majesty
 52 I imposed upon him.
-

- 53 BELBASHA son of BUNANI King of the Gambulians
 54 who at the distance of 12 kasbu among the waters and
 the marshes
 55 like fishes, had placed their dwellings,
 56 by the will of ASHUR my lord, terror struck him,
 57 and of his own accord
 58 presents and tribute
 59 fine fatted oxen

(The rest of this column is broken off.)

COLUMN IV.

Commencement broken—an unnamed warrior submits.

- 1 he kissed my feet.
 2 I had mercy on him : I washed out his rebellion.
 3 The city of Shapi-Bel his stronghold
 4 I strengthened its fortifications.
 5 Himself and his archers into it
 6 I caused to enter,

- 7 and I placed him there, to be like a strongly-barred
gate at the entrance of Elam.
-
- 8 The province of Patusarra, which is on the frontier
of
9 which is in distant Media
10 which belongs to Bikni where the mountains of alaba-
baster are,
11 which in the time of the Kings my fathers no one
trod
12 the soil of their territory,
13 SIDIRPARNA and EPARNA¹
14 Chiefs of fortresses
15 which had not submitted to my yoke
16 themselves and their men, their horses and chariots
17 oxen and sheep, mules, Bactrian camels,
18 a mighty spoil, I carried off to Assyria.
-
- 19 UPPIZ Chief of the city Partakka
20 ZANASAN Chief of the city Pardukka
21 RAMATIAH Chief of the city Uraka-Zabarna
22 cities of Media whose position is remote
23 who in the times of the Kings my fathers the land of
Assyria
24 never entered, nor ever trod its soil,
25 the great terror of ASHUR my lord overwhelmed them.
26 Excellent horses, the choicest zamat stone of their land
27 to Niniveh my royal city
28 they brought, and kissed my feet.
29 After that, the Chiefs of certain revolted cities met
together
30 and besought my Majesty
31 and obtained my assistance.

¹ *Parna* meant "Chief" in the Medo-Persian language. Pharnabazus, Tissaphernes, Artaphernes, are familiar instances.

- 32 My Magistrates and Chief Officers
 33 who dwelt near to their cities
 34 I dispatched in their company
 35 and the men who dwelt in those cities
 36 they trampled down, and compelled them to receive
 their yoke.
 37 Tribute and presents, payable each year to my Majesty,
 I imposed upon them.
-

- 38 After that ASHUR, the SUN, BEL and NEBO
 39 ISHTAR of Niniveh and ISHTAR of Arbela
 40 over my enemies *by victories*
 41 had fixed me firmly, I fulfilled my wish to worship them.
 42 Out of the spoils of foreign countries
 43 which by the help of the great gods my lords
 44 my hands had conquered
 45 Temples in the holy cities of Assyria
 46 and Babylonia I constructed ;
 47 with silver and gold I adorned them
 48 and I made them as bright as the day.
-

- 49 In those same days, the royal palace
 50 of the centre of Niniveh
 51 which the Kings my fathers who went before me
 52 had made, for the protection of a camp
 53 the care of horses, mares,
 54 chariots able to carry munitions of war
 55 and foreign spoil of every kind
 56 which ASHUR King of the gods
 57 had given to my arms

(Most of the rest of this column is broken off.)

COLUMN V.

- 1 (*I brought captives from lands which had warred against me*)
 2 I caused crowds of them to work in fetters
 3 in making bricks.
 4 That small palace
 5 I pulled down the whole of it.
 6 Much earth in baskets
 7 from the fields I brought away
 8 and threw it upon that spot,
 9 and with stones of great size
 10 I completed the mound.
-
- 11 I assembled 22 Kings,¹ of the land of Syria
 12 and of the sea coast and the islands, all of them
 13 and I passed them in review.
 14 Great beams and rafters
 15 of *abimi* wood² cedar and cypress
 16 from the mountains of Sirar and Lebanon,
 17 divine images, bas reliefs,
 18 stone *ilu*, slabs
 19 of *granite* and *alabaster*
 20 and of various other stones
 21 *ditto.* *ditto.*³
 22 from the mountain quarries
 23 the place of their origin
 24 for the adornment of my palace
 25 with labour and difficulty
 26 unto Niniveh they brought along with them.
-
- 27 In a fortunate month, and on a holy day,
 28 upon that mound

¹ For their names see the First inscription.² Ebony.³ N.B. Their names are given, but they have not been identified.

- 29 great palaces
 30 for the residence of my Majesty
 31 I began to build.
 32 A great building of 95 measures in length
 33 and 31 in breadth
 34 which in the days of the Kings my fathers who went
 before me
 35 none ever had made, I made.
 36 With beams of lofty cedar trees
 37 I laid its roof
 38 doors of *cypress* whose wood is excellent
 39 with cunning work of silver and copper I inlaid
 40 and fitted them to the gates.
 41 Bulls and lions, carved in stone
 42 which with their majestic mien
 43 deter wicked enemies from approaching,
 44 the guardians of the footsteps, the saviours
 45 of the path, of the King who constructed them
 46 right and left I placed them
 47 at the gates.
 48 A palace of stone and cedar wood
 49 of well contrived dimensions
 50 for the *repose* of my Majesty
 51 artistically I made.
 52 Lionesses of bronze, painted
 53 on the *hither*¹ side, and before, and behind,
 54 *on sculptured bases* I placed within it.

 COLUMN VI.

- 1 Of fine cedar wood and *ebony*
 2 I made the ceilings of the apartments.
 3 The whole of that palace

¹ One side being turned to the wall, and therefore unpainted. But the meaning of the word is doubtful.

4 with *veneered* slabs of ivory and *alabaster*
 5 I embellished, and I embroidered its tapestries.¹
 6 With flat roofs, like a *floor* of lead,
 7 I covered the whole building
 8 and with plates of pure silver and bright copper
 9 I lined its interior.

10 The mighty deeds of ASHUR my lord
 11 which in foreign hostile lands
 12 he had done
 13 by the skill of sculptors I erected within it.
 14 Cedars, like those of the land of Khamana
 15 which all other shrubs and trees
 16 excel, I planted around it.
 17 Its courts greatly I enlarged,
 18 its stalls very much I improved
 19 for the stabling of horses within it.
 20 Wells I skilfully made
 21 and I *covered* them properly.
 22 That great building from its foundation
 23 to its summit
 24 I built and I finished. I filled with beauties
 25 the Great Palace of my Empire,
 26 and I called it "The Palace which rivals the world."

27 ASHUR, ISHTAR of Niniveh, and the gods of Assyria
 28 all of them, I feasted² within it:
 29 victims precious and beautiful
 30 I sacrificed before them
 31 and I caused them to receive my *gifts*.

¹ *Urakma kili-su*. The verb *rakam* "to embroider" has been retained not only in Hebrew, etc., but even in the Italian *ricamare* and in French and Spanish. The commerce of the Levant probably introduced the word.

² There was always a feast of inauguration.

32 I did for those gods whatever they wished.
33 The great Assembly of my kingdom
34 the Chiefs, and the people of the land, all of them,
35 according to their tribes and cities
36 on lofty seats
37 I seated within it
38 and I made the company joyful.
39 With the wine of grapes I furnished their tables
40 and I let martial music resound among them.

41 In the name of ASHUR King of the gods, and the gods
of Assyria
42 all of them, with sound limbs, cheerful mind,
43 brightness of heart, and a numerous offspring
44 within it long may I continue to dwell !
45 and long may its glory endure !
46 In the a fine race of horses
47 mares, mules, and camels,
48 able to carry munitions of war
49 for a whole army, with its foreign spoils :
50 every year without fail
51 may it receive them within it !
52 Within this Palace
53 may the bull¹ of good fortune, the genius of good
fortune
54 the guardian of the footsteps of my Majesty
55 the giver of joy to my heart
56 for ever watch over it ! Never more
57 may its care cease !

58 In future days, under the Kings my sons
59 whom ASHUR and ISHTAR to the government of this
land and people

¹ Carved in stone.

- 60 shall name their names,
61 when this Palace
62 shall grow old and decay,
63 the man who shall repair its injuries,
64 and in like manner as I the tablet written
65 with the name of the King my father, along with the
tablet written with my own name
66 have placed, so do Thou¹ after my example
67 read aloud the tablet written with my name
68 then pour a libation on the altar ! sacrifice a victim !
69 and place it with the tablet written with thy own name !
70 so shall ASHUR and ISHTAR
71 hear thy prayers !
-

COLOPHON.

In the month of *Ab* (July) day the 18th.

Date on another fragment.

In the month of in the Eponymy of ATARAN
prefect of the city Lakhiri.

¹ The king here addresses his successor (whoever he may be).



AN ACCADIAN LITURGY.

TRANSLATED BY

REV. A. H. SAYCE, M.A.

THE fragments given below form part of one of the most interesting of the religious hymns in the Liturgy of the early Babylonians. The mutilated condition of the tablet is greatly to be regretted since the general character of the hymn and its allusions to most of the primary articles of the old Accadian mythological faith mark it out as having been a special favourite for devotional purposes. M. François Lenormant believes that it was put into the mouth of the god Hea, and draws attention to the fact that the sword or disk which it celebrates, with its 50 external points and its 7 concentric rays, is analogous not only to the *chakra* of the Indian


heroes but also to the flaming sword that guarded the entrance to Paradise. Besides this reference, the hymn alludes also to the creation of heaven and earth, to the flood and that "mountain of the world" on which the ark rested, and to the seven-headed serpent which reappears, as it would seem in a borrowed form, in Hindu legend.

An interlinear Assyrian rendering is attached to the Accadian original, which is divided into lines and stanzas. These were chanted by the priests during the performance of some religious ceremony. The remote antiquity of the hymn, which goes back beyond the second millenium B.C., enhances its value.

The text is lithographed in the *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, Vol. II, pl. 19, and a translation of it has been given by M. Oppert in the *Journal Asiatique* II. 46, 1, and by M. François Lenormant in his *Premières Civilisations* II. pp. 194-196 and *La Magie chez les Chaldéens* pp. 151, 152.

AN ACCADIAN LITURGY.

(The beginning is lost. After a reference to "the gods" and to the flight of their enemies "like birds," the hymn proceeds as follows :)

- 1 Their strongholds they make for.
- 2 Against the overwhelming fear that I inspire, terrible as (that of) ANU, who (can) lift the head?
- 3 I am Lord. The beetling¹ mountains of the earth shake (their) head to the foundations.
- 4 (With) the mountain of crystal,² of lapis lazuli,³ and of marble⁴ my hand I fill.
- 5 The spirits of earth, like a bird of prey on the sparrows, I cause to swoop.
- 6 In the mountain to my hand my mighty heroism I (commit).
- 7 In my right hand I bear my disk of fire.⁵
- 8 In my left I bear my sphere of carnage.⁶
- 9 The sun of 50 faces, the lofty weapon⁷ of my divinity, I bear.
- 10 The hero that striketh the mountains, the propitious sun of the morning,⁸ that is mine, I bear.
- 11  My mighty weapon, which like an orb smites in a circle the corpses of the fighters,⁹ I bear.

¹ Lit., "enclosed."

² Lit., "stone of the great light."

³ Lit., "blue stone."

⁴ Lit., "white stone."

⁵ Apparently this was a name given to the Moon-god of Elam.

⁶ This is also a name of the Moon in Elam.

⁷ In the Assyrian translation "the staff."

⁸ Lit., "not high (in heaven)."

⁹ The Assyrian renders this "that which is near."

- 12 The striker of mountains, my murderous weapon of ANU, I bear.
13 The striker of mountains, the fish with 7 tails that is mine, I bear.
14 The terror of battle, the destroyer of rebel lands that is mine, I bear.

(OVERSE.)

- 15 The defender of conquests, the great sword, the falchion of my divinity, I bear.
16 That from whose hand the mountain escapes not, the hand of the hero of battle which is mine, I bear.
17 The *delight* of heroes, my spear of battle, (I bear.)
18 My crown which strikes against men, the bow of the lightning, (I bear.)
19 The crusher of the temples of rebel lands, my club and buckler of battle, (I bear.)
20 The lightning of battle, my weapon of 50 heads, (I bear.)
21 The *thunderbolt* of 7 heads like the huge serpent of 7 heads, (I bear.)
22 Like the serpent that beats the sea, (which attacks) the foe in the face,
23 the devastator of forceful battle, Lord over heaven and earth, the weapon of (seven) heads, (I bear.)
24 That which maketh the light come forth like day, the god of the east, my burning power, (I bear.)
25 The creator¹ of heaven and earth, the fire-god, who has not his rival, (I bear.)
26 The weapon, which (fills) the world (with) overwhelming fear,
27 in my right hand mightily made to go; (the weapon that) of gold (and) marble

¹ Or more strictly "the establisher."

- 28 for admiration is wrought, my god who ministers to life, (I bear.)
 29 The weapon, which like combats the rebel land, the weapon of 50 heads, (I bear.)

(Here the panegyric of the lightning is broken off by a fracture of the tablet, which probably did not contain many lines more. It is possible that the following fragment, which has never been translated before, formed part of the same ritual. The numerous lacunæ will show how shockingly it is mutilated.)

- 1 Below in the abyss the forceful multitudes may they sacrifice.
 2 The overwhelming fear of ANU in the midst of heaven *encircles* his path.
 3 The spirits of earth, the mighty gods, withstand him not.
 4 The King, like a lightning-flash, opened (the way).
 5 ADAR, the striker of the fortresses of the rebel land, opened (the way).
 6 Like the streams in the *circle* of heaven I besprinkled the seed of men.
 7 His marching in the fealty of BEL to the temple *I directed*.
 8 (He is) the hero of the gods, the *protector* of mankind, far (and) near.
 9 To the men of Nipur (he gives strength?).
 10 NEBO, the messenger of BEL
 11 To my Lord ADAR
 12 O my Lord, life of NEBO, (breathe thy inspiration, incline) thine ear.
 13 O ADAR, hero, *crown of light*, (breathe) thy inspiration, (incline) thine ear.

- 14 The overwhelming fear of thee may the sea (know) ;
and may (thy) sword lay low the fortresses.

(OBSERVE.)

- 15 Thy setting (is) the herald of his rest from marching.
16 In thy marching MERODACH¹ (is) at his rest.

(The next two lines are obliterated.)

- 19 Thy father on his throne thou dost not *smite*.
20 BEL on his throne thou dost not *smite*.
21 The spirits of earth on their throne may he consume.
22 May thy father into the hands of thy valour cause
(them) to go forth.²
23 May BEL into the hands of thy valour cause (them) to
go forth.
24 (The King, the proclaimed?) of ANU, the firstborn of
the gods.
25 He that stands before BEL, the heart of the life of the
House of the Beloved.³
26 The hero of the mountain (for those that) die-in-
multitudes.
27 the one god, he will not urge.
28 (The hero for those who on the mountain) die-in-
multitudes.
29 (. the one god, he will not) urge.

(Here the tablet is finally broken off.)

¹ The Assyrian version has here "the god of the Euphrates."

² The Assyrian text seems to read here "(with) a snare may he snare for thee."

³ The Assyrian has simply "of the high places."

ASSYRIAN SACRED POETRY.

TRANSLATED BY

H. F. TALBOT, F.R.S.

THE following translations are some of those which I published in the *Transactions* of the *Society of Biblical Archæology* in order to show that the Assyrians had a firm belief in the immortality of the soul : a fact which was previously unknown.

I have added specimens of their penitential psalms, and some notices of their numerous superstitions, such as the exorcism of evil spirits, the use of magic knots and talismans, the belief in inherited or imputed sins, and in the great degree of holiness which they attri-

buted to the number *Seven*. In some of these respects we may evidently see how great an influence was exercised on the mind and belief of the Jews by their long residence at Babylon.



ASSYRIAN SACRED POETRY.

A PRAYER FOR THE KING.¹

- 1 "Length of days
- 2 long lasting years
- 3 a strong sword
- 4 a long life
- 5 extended years of glory
- 6 pre-eminence among Kings
- 7 grant ye to the King my Lord,
- 8 who has given such gifts
- 9 to his gods !
- 10 The bounds vast and wide
- 11 of his Empire
- 12 and of his Rule,
- 13 may he enlarge and may he complete !
- 14 Holding over all Kings supremacy
- 15 and royalty and empire
- 16 may he attain to grey hairs
- 17 and old age !
- 18 And after the life of these days,
- 19 in the feasts of the silver mountain,² the heavenly
Courts

¹ From the *Transactions* of the Society of Biblical Archæology, Vol. 1, p. 107. The original is in *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, Vol. 3, plate 66.

² The Assyrian Olympus. The epithet "silver" was doubtless suggested by some snowy inaccessible peak, the supposed dwellingplace of the gods.

- 20 the abode of blessedness :
 21 and in the Light
 22 of the *Happy Fields*,
 23 may he dwell a life
 24 eternal, holy
 25 in the presence
 26 of the gods
 27 who inhabit Assyria !”
-

A SHORT PRAYER FOR THE SOUL OF
 A DYING MAN.¹

- 1 Like a bird may it fly to a lofty place !
 2 To the holy hands of its god, may it ascend !
-

ANOTHER.²

- 1 The man, who is departing in *glory*
 2 may his soul shine radiant as brass.
 3 To that man
 4 may the Sun give life !
 5 and MARDUK, eldest Son of heaven
 6 grant him an abode of happiness !³

¹ Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch., Vol. 2, p. 29.

² *Idem.*, p. 48.

³ The Assyrians seem to have imagined the soul like a bird with shining wings rising to the skies. It is curious that they considered polished brass to be more beautiful than gold. A modern poet would have written differently.

THE DEATH OF A RIGHTEOUS MAN.¹

- 1 Bind the sick man to Heaven, for from the Earth he is
being torn away !
- 2 Of the brave man who was so strong, his strength has
departed.
- 3 Of the righteous servant, the force does not return.
- 4 In his bodily frame he lies dangerously ill.
- 5 But ISHTAR, who in her dwelling is grieved concerning
him
- 6 descends from her mountain, unvisited of men.
- 7 To the door of the sick man she comes.
- 8 The sick man listens !
- 9 Who is there ? Who comes ?
- 10 It is ISHTAR daughter of the Moon-god SIN :
- 11 It is the god (. . .) Son of BEL :
- 12 It is MARDUK, Son of the god (. . .).
- 13 They approach the body of the sick man.

(The next line, 14, is nearly destroyed.)

- 15 They bring a *khisibta*² from the heavenly treasury.
- 16 They bring a *sisbu* from their lofty storehouse :
- 17 into the precious *khisibta* they pour bright liquor.
- 18 That righteous man, may he now rise on high !
- 19 May he shine like that *khisibta* !
- 20 May he be bright as that *sisbu* !
- 21 Like pure silver may his garment be shining white !
- 22 Like brass may he be radiant !
- 23 To the Sun, greatest of the gods, may he ascend !
- 24 And may the Sun, greatest of the gods, receive his
soul into his holy hands !³

¹ Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch., Vol. 2, p. 31.

² Probably a cup or drinking vessel.

³ There is a fine inscription not yet fully translated, describing the soul in heaven, clothed in a white radiant garment, seated in the company of the blessed, and fed by the gods themselves with celestial food.

PENITENTIAL PSALMS.

(These lamentations seem frequently to be incoherent. A few specimens are taken from the same work as the preceding.¹)

O my Lord ! my sins are many, my trespasses are great ;
and the wrath of the gods has plagued me with disease
and with sickness and sorrow.

I fainted : but no one stretched forth his hand !

I groaned : but no one drew nigh !

I cried aloud : but no one heard !

O Lord ! do not abandon thy servant !

In the waters of the great storm, seize his hand !

The sins which he has committed, turn thou to righteousness !

ELSEWHERE WE FIND.

1 O my god ! my sins are seven times seven !

2 O my goddess ! my sins are seven times seven !

(And then a prayer follows, that those sins may be pardoned as a father and mother would pardon them !)

AN ADDRESS TO SOME DEITY.

In heaven who is great ? Thou alone art great !

On earth who is great ? Thou alone art great !

When thy voice resounds in heaven, the gods fall
prostrate !

When thy voice resounds on earth, the genii kiss the
dust !

¹ Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch., Vol. 2, p. 60.

ELSEWHERE.¹

O Thou ; thy words who can resist? who can rival
them?

Among the gods thy brothers, thou hast no equal !

A PRAYER.²

The god my creator, may he stand by my side !

Keep thou the door of my lips ! guard thou my hands,

O Lord of light !

ODE TO FIRE.

(The original text of this will be found in 4 R 14 l. 6 which is a lithographic copy of the tablet K 44. A part of it was translated some years ago from a *photograph* of that tablet, see No. 430 of my *Glossary*.

Very few Assyrian odes are so simple and intelligible as this is : unfortunately most of them are mystical and hard of interpretation.)

- 1 O FIRE, great Lord, who art the most exalted in the
world,
- 2 noble Son of heaven, who art the most exalted in the
world,
- 3 O FIRE, with thy bright flame
- 4 in the dark house thou dost cause light.
- 5 Of all things that can be named, Thou dost form the
fabric !
- 6 Of bronze and of lead, Thou art the melter !

¹ Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch., Vol. 2, p. 51.

² *Idem*.

- 7 Of silver and of gold, Thou art the refiner !
8 Of Thou art the purifier !
9 Of the wicked man in the night time Thou dost repel
the assault !
10 But the man who serves his god, Thou wilt give him
light for his actions !



ASSYRIAN

TALISMANS AND EXORCISMS.

TRANSLATED BY

H. F. TALBOT, F.R.S.

DEMONIACAL POSSESSION AND EXORCISM.

Diseases were attributed to the influence of Evil Spirits. Exorcisms were used to drive away those tormentors: and this seems to have been the sole remedy employed, for I believe that no mention has been found of medicine.

This is a very frequent subject of the tablets.¹ One of them says of a sick man:

- 1 "May the goddess
- 2 wife of the god
- 3 turn his face in another direction ;
- 4 that the evil spirit may come out of him
- 5 and be thrust aside, and that Good Spirits and Good Powers
- 6 may dwell in his body !"

Sometimes divine images were brought into the chamber, and written texts taken from holy books were placed on the walls and bound around the sick man's brows. If these failed recourse was had to the influence of the *mamit*, which the evil powers were unable to resist. On a tablet

¹ Taken from 2 R plate 18.

2 R p. 17 the following is found, written in the Accadian language only, the Assyrian version being broken off.

- 1 Take a white cloth. In it place the *mamit*,
- 2 in the sick man's right hand.
- 3 And take a black cloth :
- 4 wrap it round his left hand.
- 5 Then all the evil spirits.¹
- 6 and the sins which he has committed
- 7 shall quit their hold of him,
- 8 and shall never return²

The symbolism of the black cloth in the left hand seems evident. The dying man repudiates all his former evil deeds. And he puts his trust in holiness, symbolised by the white cloth in his right hand. Then follow some obscure lines about the spirits

Their heads shall remove from his head :

their hands shall let go his hands :

their feet shall depart from his feet :

which perhaps may be explained thus—we learn, from another tablet, that the various classes of evil spirits troubled different parts of the body. Some injured the head, some the hands and feet, etc., etc. Therefore the passage before us may mean : “The spirits whose power is over the hand, shall loose their hands from his,” etc., etc. But I can offer no decided opinion on such obscure points of their superstition.

INHERITED OR IMPUTED SINS.

These were supposed to pursue a sick man and torment him.³

- 1 The *mamit* for him reveal ! The *mamit* for him unfold !⁴

¹ A long list of them is given.

² Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch., Vol. 2, p. 56.

³ See *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, Vol. 4, p. 7.

⁴ A holy object, the nature of which has not been ascertained.

- 2 Against the evil spirit, disturber of his body !
- 3 Whether it be the sin of his father :
- 4 or whether it be the sin of his mother :
- 5 or whether it be the sin of his elder brother :
- 6 or whether it be the sin of some one who is unknown !¹

MAGIC KNOTS.

Justin Martyr, speaking of the Jewish exorcists, says "They use magic ties or knots." A similar usage prevailed among the Babylonians.² The god Marduk wishes to soothe the last moments of a dying man. His father Hea says : Go my son !

- 1 Take a woman's linen kerchief
- 2 bind it round thy right hand ! loose it from the left hand !
- 3 Knot it with seven knots : do so twice :
- 4 Sprinkle it with bright *wine* :
- 5 bind it round the head of the sick man :
- 6 bind it round his hands and feet, like manacles and fetters.
- 7 Sit down on his bed :
- 8 sprinkle holy water over him.
- 9 He shall hear the voice of HEA,
- 10 DAVKINA³ shall protect him !
- 11 And MARDUK, Eldest Son of heaven, shall find him a happy habitation !⁴

¹ Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch., Vol. 2, p. 58.

² Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch., Vol. 2, p. 54.

³ One of the principal goddesses, the wife of the god Hea.

⁴ Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch., Vol. 2, p. 54.

TALISMANS.

To cure diseases they seem to have relied wholly on charms and incantations.

The first step was to guard the entrance to the sick man's chamber.

A tablet says :

"That nothing evil may enter, place at the door the god (. . .) and the god (. . .)."

That is to say, their images. I believe these were little figures of the gods, brought by the priests, perhaps a sort of Teraphim.

The following line is more explicit :

"Place the guardian statues of HEA and MARDUK at the door, on the right hand and on the left."

But they added to this another kind of protection :

- 1 Right and left of the threshold of the door, spread out holy texts and sentences.
- 2 Place on the statues texts bound around them.

These must have been long strips like ribbons of parchment or papyrus. The following line is still clearer :

"In the night time bind around the sick man's head a sentence taken from a good book."¹

¹ Similar to these were the *phylacteries* of the Jews, which were considered to be protections from all evil. Schleusner in his *Lexicon of the New Testament* says that they were "Strips of parchment on which were written various portions of the Mosaic law, for the Jews believed that these ligaments had power to avert every kind of evil, *but especially to drive away demons*, as appears from the Targum on the Canticles, etc., etc. We see that the Babylonian precept was to bind holy sentences "around the head" and others "right and left of the threshold of the door."

Cf. Deut. xi. 18: "Ye shall lay up these my words in your heart, and in your soul, and bind them for a sign upon your hand, and as frontlets between your eyes.

"And thou shalt write them upon the door posts of thine house, and upon thy gates."

HOLINESS OF THE NUMBER SEVEN.

Innumerable are the evidences of this opinion which are found on the tablets. Two or three instances may suffice here :

THE SONG OF THE SEVEN SPIRITS.¹

- 1 They are seven ! they are seven !
- 2 In the depths of ocean they are seven !
- 3 In the heights of heaven they are seven !
- 4 In the ocean stream in a Palace they were born.
- 5 Male they are not : female they are not !
- 6 Wives they have not ! Children are not born to them !
- 7 Rule they have not ! Government they know not !
- 8 Prayers they hear not !
- 9 They are seven, and they are seven ! Twice over they are seven !

This wild chant touches one of the deepest chords of their religious feeling. They held that seven evil spirits at once might enter into a man : there are frequent allusions to them, and to their expulsion, on the tablets. One runs thus :

- 1 The god (. . .) shall stand by his bedside :
- 2 Those seven evil spirits he shall root out, and shall expel them from his body.
- 3 And those seven shall never return to the sick man again !

¹ Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch., Vol. 2, p. 58.

But sometimes this belief attained the grandeur of Epic poetry. There is a fine tale on one of the tablets¹ of the seven evil spirits assaulting heaven, and the gods alarmed standing upon the defensive, no doubt successfully, but unluckily the conclusion of the story is broken off.

¹ *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, Vol. 4, plate 5.



ANCIENT BABYLONIAN CHARMS.

TRANSLATED BY

REV. A. H. SAYCE, M.A.

THE following are specimens of the imprecatory charms with which the ancient Babylonian literature abounded, and which were supposed to be the most potent means in the world for producing mischief. Some examples are given in the first volume of the *Records of the Past*, pp. 131-135 of the exorcisms used to avert the consequences of such enchantments. The original Accadian text is preserved in the first column with an interlinear Assyrian translation: the short paragraphs in Col. iii. also give the Accadian original; but elsewhere the Assyrian scribe has contented himself with the Assyrian rendering alone. The charms are rhythmic, and illustrate the rude parallelism of Accadian poetry. The Assyrian trans-

lations were probably made for the library of Sargon of Aganè, an ancient Babylonian monarch who reigned not later than the 16th century B.C. ; but the copy we possess was made from the old tablets by the scribes of Assur-bani-pal. The larger part of the first column has already been translated by M. François Lenormant in *La Magie chez les Chaldéens*, p. 59. The tablet on which the inscription occurs is marked K 65, in the British Museum Collection and will be published in the *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, Vol. iv., pl. 7, 8.



ANCIENT BABYLONIAN CHARMS.

COLUMN I.

- 1 The beginning¹—The baneful charm² like an evil demon acts against³ the man.
- 2 The voice *that defiles* acts upon him.
- 3 The maleficent voice acts upon him.
- 4 The baneful charm is a spell that originates sickness.⁴
- 5 This man the baneful charm strangles like a lamb.
- 6 His god in his flesh makes the wound.
- 7 His goddess mutual enmity brings down.
- 8 The voice *that defiles* like a hyæna covers him and subjugates him.
- 9 MERODACH⁵ favors him ; and
- 10 to his father HEA into the house he enters and cries :
- 11 “ O my father, the baneful charm like an evil demon acts against the man.”
- 12 To the injured (man) he (HEA) speaks thus :
- 13 “ (A number) make : this man is unwitting : by means of the number he enslaves thee.”
- 14 (To) his son MERODACH he replies⁶

¹ The Accadian word is translated by the Assyrian *siptu* “lip” and may be translated “beginning” or “fresh paragraph.”

² In the Assyrian version “curse.”

³ In the Assyrian “goes against.”

⁴ In the Assyrian “(is) the cause of sickness.”

⁵ The Accadian god identified with Merodach by the Assyrian translator was *Silik-mulu-khi* “the protector of the city who benefits mankind.” He was regarded as the son of Hea.

⁶ The verbs throughout are in the aorist, but the sense of the original is better expressed in English by the present than the past tense.

- 15 "My son, the number thou knowest not ; the number
let me fix for thee.
- 16 MERODACH, the number thou knowest not ; the number
let me fix for thee.
- 17 What I know thou knowest.
- 18 Go, my son MERODACH.
- 19 with noble hand seize him, and
- 20 his enchantment explain and his enchantment make
known.
- 21 Evil (is to) the substance of his body,¹
- 22 whether (it be) the curse of his father,
- 23 or the curse of his mother,
- 24 or the curse of his elder brother,
- 25 or the bewitching curse of an unknown man."
- 26 Spoken (is) the enchantment by the lips of HEA.
- 27 Like a signet may he² be brought near.
- 28 Like garden-herbs may he be destroyed.
- 29 Like a weed may he be gathered-for-sale.
- 30 (This) enchantment may the spirit of heaven remember,
may the spirit of earth remember.

FRESH PARAGRAPH.

- 31 Like this signet he³ shall be cut, and the sorcerer
- 32 the consuming fire-god shall consume.
- 33 By written-spells he shall not be *delivered*.
- 34 By curses and poisons he shall not be *moved*.
- 35 His property (and) ground he shall not take.
- 36 His corn shall not be high and the sun shall not re-
member (him).

¹ That is, the sorcerer's.

² The sorcerer.

³ The sorcerer.

COLUMN 'II.

- 1 On the festival of the god, the king unconquerable,
 2 may the man (by) the enchantment, (with) *eldest* son
 (and) wife,
 3 (by) sickness, the loss of the bliss of prosperity, of joy
 (and) of gladness,
 4 (by) the sickness which exists in a man's skin, a man's
 flesh (and) a man's entrails,
 5 like this signet be brought near and
 6 on that day may the consuming fire-god consume ;
 7 may the enchantment go forth and to (its) dwelling-
 place betake itself.
-

FRESH PARAGRAPH.

- 8 Like this vineyard he shall be cut off, and the sorcerer
 9 the consuming fire-god shall consume.
 10 Despite the *holidays* of a *plague* that returns not,
 11 despite the shrine of the god, the king unconquerable,
 12 may the man, (by) the enchantment, (with) *eldest* son
 (and) wife,
 13 (by) sickness, the loss of the bliss of prosperity of joy
 (and) of gladness,
 14 (by) the sickness which exists in a man's skin, a man's
 flesh, a man's *entrails*,
 15 like this garden-stuff be rooted out, and
 16 on that day may the consuming fire-god consume.
 17 May the enchantment go forth and to (its) dwelling-
 place betake itself.
-

FRESH PARAGRAPH.

- 18 Like this weed he shall be gathered for sale, and the
 sorcerer

- 19 the consuming fire-god shall consume.
20 Before him, despite his blessedness that is not,
21 despite the canopy of a covering that departs not,
22 may the man (by) the enchantment, (with) *eldest* son
(and) wife,
23 (by) sickness, the loss of the bliss of prosperity, of joy
(and) of gladness,
24 (by) the sickness which exists in a man's skin, a man's
flesh, a man's *entrails*,
25 like this weed be plucked, and
26 on that day may the consuming fire-god consume.
27 May the enchantment go forth and to (its) dwelling-
place betake itself.
-

FRESH PARAGRAPH.

- 28 Like this thread he shall be stretched, and the sorcerer
29 the consuming fire-god shall consume.
30 Despite his adoration that is not,
31 despite the clothing of the god, the King unconquerable,
32 may the man, (through) the enchantment, (with) *eldest*
son (and) wife,
33 (by) sickness, the loss of the bliss of prosperity, of joy
(and) of gladness,
34 (by) the sickness which exists in a man's skin, a man's
flesh, a man's *entrails*,
35 like this thread be stretched, and
36 on that day may the consuming fire-god consume.
37 May the enchantment go forth and to (its) dwelling-
place betake itself.
-

FRESH PARAGRAPH.

- 38 Like this goat's-hair cloth he shall be stretched, and
the sorcerer
39 the consuming fire-god shall consume.

- 40 Despite the goat's-hair that is not,
41 despite the canopy of the covering (that departs not),
42 may the man (through) the enchantment, (with) *eldest*
son (and) wife,
43 (by) sickness, the loss of the bliss of prosperity, of joy
(and) of gladness,
44 (by) the sickness which exists in a man's skin, a man's
flesh, a man's *entrails*,
45 like this goat's-hair cloth be stretched, and
46 on that day the man may the consuming fire-god
consume.
47 May the enchantment go forth and to (its) dwelling-
place betake itself.
-

FRESH PARAGRAPH.

- 48 Like these *boards* he shall be stretched, and the sorcerer
49 the consuming fire-god shall consume.
50 O son of the macebearer, despite produce unproduced,
51 despite the clothing of the god, the King uncon-
querable,
52 may the man (by) the enchantment, (with) *eldest* son
and wife,
53 (by) sickness, the loss of prosperity, of joy (and) of
gladness,
54 (by) the sickness which exists in a man's skin, a man's
flesh, a man's *entrails*,
55 like these *boards* be stretched, and
56 on that day may the consuming fire-god consume.
57 May the enchantment go forth and to (its) dwelling-
place betake itself.

COLUMN III.

The first part of Column III. is mutilated. It becomes legible in the middle of a list of magical formulæ.

30 The chiefest talisman, the mighty talisman, the engraved talisman, the talisman is the binder, with enchantment.

31 The repetition of the enchantment (is) baneful to man.

32 The curses of the gods.

33 the binder with enchantment.

34 (With enchantment) his hands (and) his feet he binds.

35 MERODACH, the son of HEA, the prince, with his holy hands cuts the knots.

36 May the enchantment cause this talisman to the desert among the wild beasts to go forth.

37 May the baneful enchantment seize upon others.

38 May this man rest (and) open (his eyes).

39 To the blessed hand of his god may he be committed.

40 Conclusion of the formulæ for averting sorcery.

FRESH PARAGRAPH.

41 For the raising of the mighty foundation thus have I burned up straight,

42 like fire have I burned up (and) have delivered the oracle.¹

¹ Or, "have laid the witchcraft."

COLUMN IV.

- 1 The noble *cupbearer* of HEA, the scribe of MERODACH
(am) I.
2 Like fire have I blazed (and) I rejoice ;¹
3 (like) fire have I burned (and) I grow ;
4 the corn I purify and make heavy.
5 Like fire have I blazed (and) will rejoice ;
6 (like) fire have I burned (and) will grow ;
7 the corn will I purify and make heavy.
8 O nadir (and) zenith, the light of god and man,
9 may the store he collected be delivered.
10 May the store of (his) heart whoever he be, ye his god
and his goddess, be delivered.
11 May his gate be *kept fast*. On that day
12 may they enrich him, may they deliver him.

FRESH PARAGRAPH.

- 13 May the rejoicing² of the warrior fire-god
14 rejoice with thee. May lands and rivers
15 rejoice with thee. May Tigris and (Euphrates)
16 rejoice with thee. May the seas and (the ocean)
17 rejoice with thee. May the forest, the daughter of
the gods,
18 rejoice with thee. May all the productions (of the
earth)
19 rejoice with thee. May the hearts of my god and my
goddess, well-feasted,
20 rejoice with thee. May the hearts of the god and the
goddess of the city, well-feasted, (rejoice with thee).

¹ Or, "rest."

² The words translated "rejoicing" and "rejoice" properly signify "rest," and that may be their meaning here.

- 21 On that day from the curse may my heart, O my god
and my goddess, be delivered,
22 and may the enchantment go forth from my body.
23 When the doom *comes upon* thee,
24 and from the fulfilment thou protectest thyself,
25 the doom when fulfilled cut thou off.
-

- 26 (The tablet) beginning :—

Colophon.

Tablet (copied from)
the old (tablets of Chaldea).
Country of (ASSUR-BANI-PAL)
King of (Assyria).



LISTS OF FURTHER TEXTS FOR TRANSLATION.

ASSYRIAN.

ARRANGED BY

GEORGE SMITH.

Works on History and Chronology.

Eponym Canon (Cun. Ins., Vol. III, p. 1).

Historical Canon (Cun. Ins., Vol. II, p. 52).

Historical.

Legends of Izdubar (texts unpublished). (Deluge Tablets.)

Inscription of Sargon I king of Babylonia (Cun. Ins., Vol. III, p. 4).

Inscription of Sargon and his son Naram-sin (Trans. Soc. Bib. Ar., pp. 49-51).

Various Inscriptions of Kuder-mabuk and Rim-sin his son (see Trans. Soc. Bib. Ar., p. 42, and notes).

Early Babylonian Dated Tablets (texts unpublished).

Brick of Samsi-vul I ruler of Assyria (Cun. Ins., Vol. 1, p. 6).

Brick of Kara-indas king of Babylon (Trans. Soc. Bib. Ar. p. 68).

Inscriptions of Burna-buriyas king of Babylon (Cun. Ins., Vol. I, p. 4, etc).

Inscriptions of Kuri-galzu king of Babylon (Cun. Ins., Vol. I, p. 4, etc.).

Inscriptions of Pudil king of Assyria (Revue Ar., Nov., 1869).

- Monolith of Maruduk-bal-idina I king of Babylonia (text, unpublished).
- Tablet of Vul-nirari I king of Assyria (text unpublished).
- Small Inscriptions of Vul-nirari (various).
- Inscriptions of Shalmaneser I king of Assyria (various).
- Inscriptions of Tugulti-ninip king of Assyria (various unpublished; one *Cun. Ins.*, Vol. III, p. 4).
- Inscriptions of Assur-risilim, king of Assyria (*Cun. Ins.*, Vol. III, p. 3).
- Brick and Cone Inscriptions of Vul-bal-idina king of Babylon (various).
- Inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar I king of Babylonia (unpublished).
- Cylinder of Tiglath-Pileser I king of Assyria (*Cun. Ins.*, Vol. I, pp. 9-16).
- Other fragments of Tiglath-Pileser (various).
- Contracts dated in the reign of Maruduk-nadin-ahi king of Babylon (various).
- Inscriptions of Assur-bel-kala king of Assyria (*Cun. Ins.*, Vol. I, p. 6).
- Inscriptions of Samsivul IV king of Assyria (*Cun. Ins.*, Vol. III, p. 3).
- Contract dated in the reign of Simma-sihu king of Babylon (*Layard's Ins.*, p. 53).
- Other Inscriptions of Assur-nasir-pal (various).
- Bull Inscription of Shalmaneser II (*Layard's Ins.*, p. 12, etc.).
- Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser II (*Layard's Ins.*, p. 87).
- Inscriptions of Vul-nirari III king of Assyria (*Cun. Ins.*, Vol. I, p. 35).
- Fragments of Annals of Tiglath-Pileser II king of Assyria (various).
- Fragments of Inscriptions Shalmaneser IV king of Assyria (various).
- Inscription of the Second Year of Sargon (unpublished).

- Nimrud Inscription of Sargon (Layard's Ins., p. 33).
Cylinder (Barrel) of Sargon (Cun. Ins., Vol. I, p. 36).
Prism of Sargon (unpublished).
Fasti of Sargon (Botta).
Annals of Sargon (Botta).
Other Inscriptions of Sargon (various).
Tablet of Kalah Shergat.
Nebbi Yunas Tablet (Cun. Ins., Vol. I, pp. 43, 44).
Bull Inscriptions of Sennacherib (Cun. Ins., Vol. III, pp. 12 and 13).
Other Inscriptions of Sennacherib (various).
Various other Inscriptions of Esarhaddon (Cun. Ins., Vol. I, etc.).
Portions of Cylinders B, C, D, and E of Assurbanipal (Smith's Assurbanipal).
Various Historical Tablets of Assurbanipal (Smith's Assurbanipal).
Hunting Texts of Assurbanipal (Cun. Ins., Vol. I, p. 7).
Inscriptions of Assur-ebel-ili king of Assyria (Cun. Ins., Vols. I and III).
Cylinder of Bel-zakir-iskun king of Assyria (Cun. Ins. Vol. I. p. 8).
Inscription of Nabopalassar king of Babylonia (unpublished).
Inscription (India House) of Nebuchadnezzar (Cun. Ins., Vol. I, pp. 53 to 64).
Senkereh Cylinder of Nebuchadnezzar (Cun. Ins., Vol. I, p. 51).
Borsippa Cylinder of Nebuchadnezzar (Cun. Ins., Vol. I, p. 51).
Various other texts of Nebuchadnezzar.
Tablet dated in the reign of Evil Merodach king of Babylon.
Cylinder of Nergal-shar-ezer king of Babylon (Cun. Ins., Vol. I, p. 67).

Cylinders of Nabonedus king of Babylon (Cun. Ins., Vol. I, pp. 68, 69).

Other texts of Nabonedus (various).

Brick of Cyrus king of Babylon (Trans. Soc. Bib. Ar., Vol. II, pt. I).

Inscription on Tomb of Cyrus.

Dated Tablets in reign of Cambyses (various).

Inscriptions of Darius.

Inscriptions of Xerxes king of Persia.

Inscriptions of Artaxerxes king of Persia.

Later Inscriptions of Persian, Greek, and Parthian periods.

Mythology and Religion (mostly unpublished).

History of the Evil Spirits.

Hymn to the Moon God.

Hymns to Ninip.

The War of the Gods.

Prayers of Amil-urgal.

Prayer against Eclipses.

Various other Prayers.

Various Mythological Stories and Invocations.

Tablets against Witchcraft.

Tablet on Human Sacrifice.

Assyrian Sacred Poetry.

Fable (unpublished).

The Horse and the Ox.

Government (mostly unpublished).

Tablet with Advice and Cautions to Kings.

Various Reports and Despatches.

Various Tablets with Laws and Reports of Law Cases.

Private Life.

Further Deeds of Sale and Barter.

Further Loan Tablets.

Private Letters.

Lists of Property.

Science, etc. (partly unpublished).

Geographical Lists.

Lists of Animals and Birds (Delitzsch).

Lists of Minerals and their uses.

Lists of Wooden Objects.

Grammatical Tablets (a selection from).

Mathematical Tablets.

Astrology and Astronomy.

Further Selections from the great Chaldean Work on Astrology.

Further Selections from Astronomical and Astrological Reports.

A Selection of Omens from Terrestrial Objects and Events.¹

PHœNICIAN

Sarcophagus of Ashmunazer (Duc de Luynes, *Mémoire*, 1856).

Marseilles Inscription (Judas, 1857).

The Moabite Stone (Ginsburg, 1871).

The Melitensis Quinta.

Selected Mortuary Inscriptions.

¹ Selections of these only printed in Vol. I.

Will be Ready, July, 1875.

RECORDS OF THE PAST, VOL. IV., EGYPTIAN TEXTS.

WILL CONTAIN AMONG OTHERS THE FOLLOWING
TRANSLATIONS :

The Possessed Princess. Tablet of Rameses XII.

The Tablet of 400 Years, XIXth Dynasty.

Annals of Thothmes III. Inscription of Anebni.

Inscription of Aahmes.

Obelisk of the Lateran.

The Invasion of Egypt by the Libyans and Greeks.

The Rosetta Stone.—

By S. BIRCH, LL.D.

The Tablet of Ahmes.

Inscription of Queen Madsenen.—

By PAUL PIERRET.

The Book of the Respirations.—

By P. J. DE HORRACK.

Hymn to the Nile.—

By REV. F. C. COOK, M.A., CANON OF EXETER.

The Tale of Setnau.—

By P. LE PAGE RENOUF.

The Neapolitan Stèle.

Treaty of Peace Between Rameses II. and the Hittites.

The Festal Dirge of the Egyptians.—

By C. W. GOODWIN, M.A.

Obelisk of Rameses II.

Hymn to Osiris.—

By FRANÇOIS CHABAS.

Ethiopian Annals.

Stèle of the Vision.

Stèle of the Excommunication.—

By G. MASPERO.

In consequence of the increased interest taken in this Series it has been decided to issue an extra ASSYRIAN volume simultaneously with the next EGYPTIAN volume. Thus, on July 1, 1875, Vols. IV. and V. will be ready.

LIST OF TRANSLATIONS

Which have appeared in the "RECORDS OF THE PAST"
up to this date, December, 1874.

EGYPTIAN TEXTS.

Inscription of Una.

Annals of Thothmes III.

Statistical Tablet.

Tablet of Thothmes III.

Battle of Megiddo.

Inscription of Amen-em-heb.

By S. BIRCH, LL.D.

Hymn to Amen-Ra.

Tale of the Doomed Prince.

By C. W. GOODWIN, M.A.

Instructions of Amenemhat I.

By G. MASPERO.

War of Rameses II with the Khita.

By PROF. E. L. LUSHINGTON.

Inscription of Pianchi Mer-Amon.

By REV. F. C. COOK, M.A., CANON OF EXETER.

Tablet of Newer-Hotep.

By PAUL PIERRET.

Travels of an Egyptian.

By FRANÇOIS CHABAS.

Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys.

By P. J. DE HORRACK.

Tale of the Two Brothers.

By P. LE PAGE RENOUF.

Egyptian Calendar.

Table of Dynasties.

Measures and Weights.

ASSYRIAN TEXTS.

Inscription of Rimmon-Nirari.
 Monolith Inscription of Samas-Rimmon.
 Babylonian Exorcisms.
 Private Will of Sennacherib.
 Assyrian Private Contract Tablets.
 Assyrian Astronomical Tablets.
 Assyrian Calendar.
 Tables of Assyrian Weights and Measures.
 Synchronous History of Assyria and Babylonia.
 Tablet of Ancient Accadian Laws.
 Kurkh Inscription of Shalmaneser.
 Table of Assyrian Laws.
 Accadian Liturgy.
 Babylonian Charms.

By REV. A. H. SAYCE, M.A.

Inscription of Khammurabi.
 Bellino's Cylinder of Sennacherib.
 Taylor's Cylinder of Sennacherib.
 Legend of the Descent of Ishtar.
 Inscription of Esarhaddon.
 Second Inscription of Esarhaddon.
 Assyrian Sacred Poetry.

By H. FOX TALBOT, F.R.S.

Annals of Assurbanipal.
 Early History of Babylonia.

By GEORGE SMITH.

Behistun Inscription of Darius.

By SIR H. RAWLINSON, K.C.B., D.C.L.

Annals of Assur-nasir-pal.

By REV. J. M. RODWELL.

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VOL. I.

ASSYRIAN TEXTS.

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INSCRIPTION OF RIMMON-NIRARI.

By REV. A. H. SAYCE, M.A.

INSCRIPTION OF KHAMMURABI.

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SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

9, CONDUIT STREET, LONDON, W.

14th December, 1874.

ASSYRIAN AND EGYPTIAN CLASSES.

DEAR SIR,

I have the pleasure to state that these classes so long announced, and in the prospect of which so lively an interest has been excited, will now definitely take place by the sanction of the Council, at the rooms of the Society of Biblical Archæology, in the months of February, March, and April, 85.

The ASSYRIAN PHILOLOGICAL CLASS will meet every Saturday, at 8 p.m., under the direction of the Rev. A. H. SAYCE, who has prepared for the use of his students an Elementary Grammar and Reading Book of the Assyrian Language, containing the most complete syllabary yet extant, which will serve also as a vocabulary of both Accadian and Assyrian.

The EGYPTIAN CLASSES will meet at 7.30 on the successive Mondays in the same months, under the conduct of Mr. P. LE PAGE RENOUF, who has also prepared an Elementary Manual of the Egyptian Language with interlineary texts.

The Grammars will be published by Messrs. BAGSTER AND SONS at the lowest possible cost, the authors having generously conceded their profits for two editions in order to reduce the price of the works to the students of these Classes.

Admission to these Classes will be free, by *TICKETS*, which I shall be prepared to issue on application by letter, after the first week in January, 1875.

In conclusion I beg to quote a passage from an address by Dr. BIRCH on the 1st inst.: “When perfect syllabaries shall
“have been obtained and complete Grammars with interlineary
“texts published, there will exist no greater difficulties to be
“surmounted by the student than are to be found in the better
“known classical languages, and certainly not so many as those
“which attend the study of Sanscrit, or Arabic. There will then
“be no reason whatever why a tolerably persevering scholar
“should not be able after two sessions practice to read Assyrian
“as well as an Eton boy reads Greek at the end of his first year,
“or to translate easily some portions of such Cuneiform or
“Hieroglyphic texts as are printed in the *Transactions* of this
“Society and in the *Records of the Past*.”

DEAR SIR,

Yours faithfully,

W. R. COOPER.

ARCHAIC CLASSICS.

THE Volumes announced by Messrs. S. BAGSTER AND SONS under the above title, are far advanced, and will, it is hoped, be ready by February next, when the Assyrian and Egyptian Classes initiated by the Members of the Society of Biblical Archæology will take place. The ASSYRIAN ELEMENTARY GRAMMAR AND READING BOOK by the Rev. A. H. SAYCE, M.A., will contain the most complete Syllabary yet extant and will serve also as a Vocabulary of both Accadian and Assyrian. The ELEMENTARY MANUAL OF THE EGYPTIAN LANGUAGE by Mr. P. LE PAGE RENOUF, F.R.S.L., will contain a carefully prepared introduction to the Hieroglyphic Vocabulary, and a series of interlineary examples. The two special features which these Grammars will possess above all others in English are, first, that the Syllabaries are in both cases revised to the present time; and second, that the verbs and nouns are accompanied with the original characters as well as being transliterated, an advantage which every Oriental student will know well how to appreciate. By a special arrangement with the Authors, Messrs. BAGSTER are enabled to offer the Volumes at a price to render them accessible to every student, and it is to be hoped that the success of these Volumes will be such as to encourage further Works of a similar nature, and to roll away much of the difficulty and obscurity which has hitherto been generally associated with the very names of the Archaic languages of the historic world.

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9, CONDUIT STREET, LONDON, W.

Instituted for the investigation of the Archæology, History, Arts, and Chronology of Ancient and Modern Assyria, Palestine, Egypt, Arabia, and other Biblical Lands: the promotion of the study of the Antiquities of those countries, and the Record of Discoveries hereafter to be made in connection therewith.

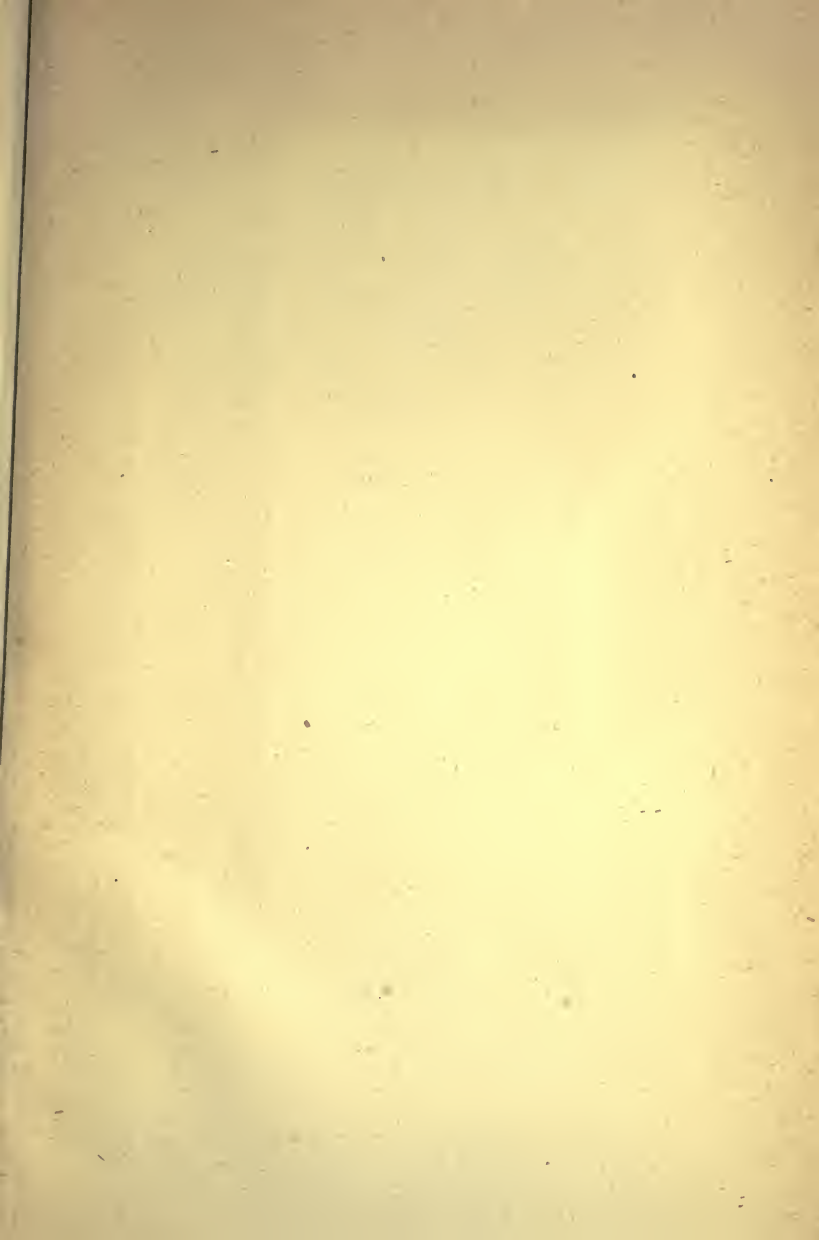
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The Meetings are held on the first Tuesdays in the month from November to June at 8.30 p.m.

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Ladies and Gentlemen desirous of becoming Members of the Society are requested to communicate by letter with the Secretary, Mr. W. R. COOPER, 9, Conduit Street, W., who will submit their names to the Council, by whom all Candidates are nominated. The Subscription is *one guinea* per annum, payable in advance, which entitles the Member to receive all the Publications and attend all the meetings of and to borrow books from the Library of the Society.

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